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The life of Ioannes Xenos : critical edition and commentary.

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Sophia Oikonomou

The *Life of Ioannes Xenos* : critical edition and commentary

Ph.D. dissertation
King's College London
University of London
London, 1999



For my parents

Abstract

This is a study of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos*, a text which records the life, deeds and final will of Ioannes Xenos, a monastic figure who lived in the island of Crete (end of 10th century and beginning of 11th century). Ioannes Xenos is not identical with Ioannes Eremites, a monastic figure of Crete of the 16th century. A critical edition, translation and commentary of the text form the central part of this study.

Recorded in the 1st person singular, the text was probably dictated by Xenos just before his death and by this text he attempted to safeguard his foundations and their possessions. It is preserved in *Canonicus graecus 19*, a manuscript of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, dated to the 15th-16th century which is described in detail. The text as contained in the manuscript is dated to the later Byzantine period (14th-15th century) since it contains linguistic elements of this date. Despite these later elements the text is close to the original delivered by Xenos. The connection of this text and a popular version of the *Life* contained in an 18th-19th century manuscript is discussed.

Xenos' activities are placed in the historical context of the period after the Arab occupation of the island and the reconquest of Crete by Nikephoros Phokas (961). Since it is the only surviving literary source, the text is very important for the period. The possible connections of Xenos with the administrative and ecclesiastical hierarchy of the island, as well as the artistic connections of Crete with Constantinople are discussed. Moreover, the founding tactics of Xenos and the way he organised his monastic foundations are analysed. The text sheds light on the religious situation of Crete after 961, revealing many anonymous Christians ready to follow and help the holy man.

Preface

There are many people without whose help this thesis might never have been completed. Professor A. Markopoulos, of the University of Crete, was always eager to have long discussions with me about various issues of this thesis, and gave to me a lot of helpful advice and encouragement. Mrs Charlotte Roueché who supervised my postgraduate studies in London from the very beginning, was always most generous with her time, knowledge and advice, and helped me towards the completion of this study; she was kind enough to read the language section and the edition and translation section of my thesis and to suggest certain corrections. Dr Charalambos Dendrinou helped me deepen my knowledge of palaeography and manuscript description. Mrs Eirene Harvalia-Crook contributed a lot to my knowledge on aspects of the Greek language. Ms Julian Chrysostomides gave to me a lot of helpful advice and encouragement. Dr Maria Vassilaki contributed to my knowledge of artistic tendencies in 11th century Crete. Dr John Thomas provided me with a first draft of the Dumbarton Oaks project on Ioannes Xenos before this came out in its electronic version. I would also like to thank: Professor Averil Cameron and Professor Margaret Mullett for suggesting this topic of research to me and also the members of the Evergetis project of Queen's University of Belfast, for including me in their activities; my cousin Gerasimos of Agkarathos monastery in Crete for discussing with me many religious aspects and problems and providing me with rare books from his personal library and the monastery's rich collection of books; the secretaries of the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies of King's College London, Ms Yasmin Hilmi and Ms Claire Curl for their help and support.

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Grateful thanks are also due to the Bodleian Library, Oxford for providing me a microfilm of *Canonicus graecus 19* and for allowing me to consult the manuscript *in situ*. To the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki I owe particular thanks for providing me photocopies of the Lavra manuscript 160-B40.

I would also like to thank the A.G. Leventis Foundation for a one-year scholarship, the Departmental Research Fund of the Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, King's College London for covering the cost of the microfilm of *Canonicus graecus 19*, and the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Dover Fund Sub-Committee.

Among my colleagues and friends who gave me help during the years of the preparation of this thesis I owe particular thanks to Anne Alwis, Xenia Geroulanos, Sophia Kapetanaki, Chrissi Kotsifou, Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Leonora Neville. Finally, I would like to thank George Vardas for his constant encouragement and support during my studies and for his help in photographing most of the monuments; my brother, Yiannis, who provided invaluable advice and help concerning all computer and software problems and was always ready to find a solution to every problem. Finally, I would like to thank my parents for supporting me in every way and encouraging my studies over many years. It is to them that I would like to dedicate this study.

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List of Abbreviations

BHG ³	François Halkin, <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , Bruxelles 1957 ³ .
BHG ^a	François Halkin, <i>Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae</i> , Bruxelles 1969.
BHG ⁿ	François Halkin, <i>Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae</i> , Bruxelles 1984.
CANT	<i>Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti</i> , Brepols-Turnhout 1992.
CAVT	<i>Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti</i> , Brepols-Turnhout 1998.
CPG	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> , 5 vols. and supplement, Brepols-Turnhout 1983-1998.
Kriaras	Emm. Kriaras, <i>Λεξικὸ τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημώδους Γραμματείας (1100–1669)</i> , vol. 1-, Thessaloniki 1968- .
Lampe	G.W.H. Lampe, <i>A Patristic Greek Lexicon</i> , Oxford 1961.
Liddell & Scott	H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, <i>Greek-English Lexicon with a revised supplement</i> , Oxford 1996.
PG	J.-P. Migne, ed., <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca</i> , 161 vols., Paris 1857-1866.
Sophocles	E.A. Sophocles, <i>Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)</i> , 2 vols., New York 1887.

TLG *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, CDRom, University of
California 1992.

List of Illustrations

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Introduction

Ioannes Xenos was a monastic figure who lived in the island of Crete. He was born sometime during the second half of the 10th century after the reconquest of Crete by the Byzantines (961), and died during the second half of the 11th century.¹ He founded eight monastic establishments, organised the monastic life around them in an exemplary way and acquired property for these foundations; sometime after 1025 he also went to Constantinople and acquired from the imperial and ecclesiastical authorities a chrysobull and privileges in order to safeguard the independent status of his monastic foundations. Before dying, he recorded his life, deeds and last will about these foundations in the text edited and studied in the present thesis.

The Life of Ioannes Xenos is the only extant source about him. It is preserved in *Canonicus graecus 19*, a manuscript of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, dated between 1450 and 1550. There is also a popular version of the *Life* dated to the 18th-19th century; the manuscript (*Cisamensis*) in which it was preserved is now lost but it was first edited in 1948 by Nikolaos Tomadakis.² This edition is cited in the appendix of the present study together with a translation and a discussion.³

A text that was thought to be composed by Ioannes Xenos, is preserved in a Lavra manuscript, 160-B40, ff. 70-100^v, dated to the 12th century⁴. It consists of two parts; the first is entitled "Λόγοι ὠραῖοι ψυχωφελεῖς ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον τὸ πρῶτον ἐκλεχθέντες παρ' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου ξένου" (ff. 70.1-78.9), and the second "Λόγοι ὠραῖοι ψυχωφελεῖς ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον τὸ δεύτερον

¹ The dating of Xenos' activities is based on an internal reference to Patriarch Alexios (1025-1043); cf. entry on Alexios in Commentary.

² N. B. Tomadakis, "Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἡ Διαθήκη αὐτοῦ", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 2 (1948), 47-72, esp. 61-66.

³ For a second popular version and a discussion on its non reliability as a source, see below, pp. 20-21.

⁴ This text was first located by Chrysanthos Notaras as "Ὁμιλία εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἐκλεγεῖσαι παρὰ Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ξένου" in "Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν Ἀθωνι Βιβλιοθηκῶν"; see K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. 1, Athens-Venice-Paris 1872, 272.

On this manuscript (parchment, 146 folios in total) and its contents, see Spyridon of the Lavra and Sophronios Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in the library of the Laura on Mount Athos*, Cambridge 1925, 17.

ἐκλεχθέντες παρὰ Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου ξένου" (ff. 78.10-100^v). It is a collection of quotations taken from the Gospel according to Saint Matthew.⁵ The epithet *xenos* first made Tomadakis think that this text was written by Ioannes Xenos; however, he noted that this work cannot be securely attributed to the Cretan monk Xenos as it does not contain sufficient evidence.⁶ Moreover, the epithet *xenos*, i.e. foreigner, is commonly used for scribes who were also monks, and used to travel around the Byzantine empire and copy texts.⁷ Thus, the presence of the epithet *xenos* cannot be a sufficient element for this text to be attributed to Ioannes Xenos; it seems more probable for the above text to have been copied by a scribe using this epithet.

Ioannes Xenos was not only a holy man who prayed and searched for *eremia* and *hesychia*, the ideals of monastic life. He also appears to be a man with a practical turn of mind, capable of establishing monastic foundations, and organising the life around them; a man of insight, Xenos also managed to secure imperial and patriarchal support through a chrysobull and privileges he obtained in order to protect his foundations and safeguard their status for the period after his death.

All the activities of Xenos acquire special importance when placed in their historical context, the period after the reconquest of the island of Crete by the Byzantines. The Arabs had remained on the island for about 135 years and Christianity had undoubtedly been affected. Xenos makes his appearance at the beginning of this period and Christian institutions seem to revive to a large extent. Moreover, it is a period with very few sources regarding Crete. For

⁵ Neither Notaras nor Tomadakis realised that the text consists of two parts. The text remains unedited.

⁶ See Tomadakis, "'Ο ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἡ Διαθήκη αὐτοῦ", 53.

⁷ Costas N. Constantinides and Robert Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the year 1570*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C. and Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia, 1993, 4 and 449.

For an example of copyists with the name *xenos*, see also R. Devreesse, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs. II. Le fonds Coislin*, Paris 1945, 412 (Jean, moine copiste; and Jean, copiste) and especially 244, for a reference to a subscription written by a certain Ioannes, monk and *xenos* and dated to 1036-1037; the subscription reads: Ἐγράφη τὸ θεόπνευστον τοῦτο βιβλίον διὰ χειρὸς Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ ταπεινοῦ ξένου. The dating together with the name of the person might suit Ioannes Xenos and his period of life; it is apparent though, that this note comes from a scribe and not an author.

about 150 years after the Byzantine reconquest of the island the only extant sources contain one administrative list (*Taktikon of Escurial*), one ecclesiastical list of bishoprics (*Notitia*), some seals and a note referring to the existence of a military corps. The *Life of Ioannes Xenos* is the only literary source. One additional source which contains a small reference to the island of Crete is the *Life of Nikon Metanoeite*; Nikon visited Crete immediately after 961, and his *Life* was written in 1042.

The interesting and striking personality of Xenos who lived during an important period for Christianity and the island of Crete, makes Xenos and his *Life* very thought-provoking and tempting to explore.

The Life of Ioannes Xenos has been a very popular topic of study and research for scholars, who worked on it and the rich material it provides. Scholars were mainly intrigued by the plethora of archaeological sites connected with Xenos and his activities on the island; their main aim was to identify the toponyms and the monastic foundations of Xenos. Being such an important source, the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* has detained scholars of different academic communities, including Greeks, and especially scholars from Crete, where Ioannes Xenos remains a very popular local Saint to date.⁸ Thus, the majority of studies on Xenos are written in modern Greek, and are overlooked by scholars who do not know Greek. Research projects and studies appear to be unaware of recent publications in Greek, and in this way they create a distorted image according to which Xenos appears to have lived in places that he had never visited.⁹ The major problem

⁸ At this point it should be noted that next to the studies by famous and internationally known scholars, studies by local people of Crete exist, usually in the form of booklets, which contain very interesting information but are quite difficult to get hold of.

⁹ For example, cf. Elisabeth Malamut, *Les îles de l' empire byzantin*, 2 vols., Paris 1988; Malamut used the text of Xenos as a source for the island of Crete but for the toponyms appearing in the text, she consulted only the study of 1924 by L. Petit (on this study, see below), and Tomadakis' study of 1948. Thus, she mainly repeated Petit's mistaken identification of the toponyms of the text; cf. pp. 135, 203, 209 and 417.

The Dumbarton Oaks project *Byzantine Monastic Foundations Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments* (John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, eds.) which can be found on www.doaks.org/typ000.html, contains the *testament* of Ioannes Xenos. The project is mainly based on a part of the popular version survived in *Cisamensis* which is entitled a *testament*. The studies of Delehaye, Petit and

though is the misidentification of Ioannes Xenos with Ioannes Eremites, a monastic figure who lived in western Crete during the first half of the 16th century. Many scholars have not even tried to justify their identification, let alone to dissociate the two.¹⁰

The *editio princeps* of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* was undertaken by Hippolyte Delehaye in 1921.¹¹ Since then the main aim of most studies on Xenos and his *Life* was the identification of the toponyms and the buildings that are recorded in the *Life*, to the exclusion of other topics. In the present thesis a more thorough study of the text of the *Life* is undertaken.

In the first chapter the historical context in which the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* should be placed, is presented. An historical survey is undertaken stressing the administrative and ecclesiastical organisation of the island from the 5th century onwards. Special attention is paid to the period of the Arab occupation of the island (ca. 826-961) and the coexistence of Byzantines and Arabs. The very few sources for the period after the reconquest of the island by the Byzantines (961) are presented in order to form a clear view about the period when Xenos lived, as far as the limited number of sources allow.

In the second chapter the context in which Xenos lived and was active, is presented as well as his possible connections with the administrative and ecclesiastical official hierarchy of the island of Crete and how this might have affected the foundation of his monastic establishments. The artistic situation in the 11th century Crete, the circulation of artists, and the artistic connections between Crete and Constantinople are also discussed. The ways in which Xenos affected this context of activities and was also affected by it, together with his founding tactics and the response and participation of the indigenous population are presented.

Tomadakis have been used as the basic bibliography (on these studies, see below) and thus the toponyms' mistaken identification was repeated; cf. pp. 143-147 of the project. For the text used for the Dumbarton Oaks project and a discussion, see Appendix.

¹⁰ The problem of the identification of Ioannes Xenos and Ioannes Eremites is discussed below together with the presentation and discussion of the most important studies regarding Xenos.

¹¹ Hippolyte Delehaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l' époque des Paléologues*, Brussels 1921, 188-196 (Appendice: Le testament de Jean l' Étranger) (=study vi in Delehaye, *Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typica*, London 1977).

Chapter three contains a detailed study of the language of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos*. The language of the *Life* has never been studied before by previous scholars and reveals important information about the text, its composition by Xenos and the text's preservation through time. These are discussed in the section "Composition of the text and its transmission (11th-20th century)".

Chapter four contains a detailed codicological and palaeographical description of *Canonicus graecus 19*, the unique manuscript in which the *Life of Xenos* is preserved. This is followed by a palaeographical study of the text of the *Life* and a note on the previous editions and the conventions adopted in the present edition. In this note the quality of the previous editions of the *Life* is evaluated and the re-edition of the text is justified. Chapter five contains the critical edition of the *Life* and a translation, while the commentary of the text is contained in chapter six which is followed by the indices (index nominum priorum and index verborum).

The appendix at the end of the thesis contains the text of the popular version of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* as preserved in the now lost *Cisamensis* manuscript together with a translation and a discussion.

The text presented in this study had been widely known as the *Testament of Ioannes Xenos*. Delehay, the first who brought this text to light, made it known as a testament since it was composed according to internal reference while Xenos was on his deathbed, and it records Xenos' final will regarding the monastic establishments he founded. Most subsequent scholars referred to it as a *testament* in their studies. However, in the present study the term *Life* is preferred because it contains the detailed account of Xenos' life as delivered by himself, and not only his last will and orders.

The best way to examine the problem of the identification of Ioannes Xenos and Ioannes Eremites is by presenting chronologically the most important studies on Xenos; thus, it will be made clear exactly how the problem was caused and how it developed into one of major significance. A summary of Xenos' *Life* is essential here, so that the reader will be aware of the toponyms

recorded in the *Life*, which proved to be the most crucial elements for the mistaken identification of these two Saints.

According to the text of the *Life*, Ioannes Xenos was born of rich parents from a village called **Siva** sometime towards the end of the 10th century. Longing for the solitary life from a young age, he left his native place and started wandering around searching for *eremia* and *hesychia*. His first stop was at the mountain of **Lithines** which was called **Raxos**; in a cave at that place he found two "monuments" and after hearing a divine voice that informed him that these were the tombs of **Saints Eutychios and Eutychianos**, he raised in their name a **holy temple** as he was ordered to do by that same voice.

Installing one brother (a monk) in the newly built church, he left and reached the mountain called **Myriocephalon** where after a vision, he built the **monastery of the Mother of God, the Antiphonetria**. Xenos mentions in his *Life* that this was preceded by the purchase of land and a purchase contract between him and the inhabitants of that place; the holy man also got invaluable help from the *philochristoi*, the devout, Christ-loving people of the area who responded immediately to his divine mission and needs. After tonsuring a monk called Loukas, he left and reached another place called **Melix** where he built the **church of Saint Georgios the Douvrikas**; as the place was very dry, Xenos constructed a cistern for water, and the inhabitants of that same area gave him arable land and also land which he used to make a vineyard and a garden. A pious man joined him and was tonsured by Xenos who also set him up as a priest. Xenos left this monastic foundation and reached the area of **Arion** which was close to the village of **Pege**. There, he raised the church of **Saint Georgios the Opsaropiastes** with the help of the inhabitants of the above village, who due to their admiration of him, gave him land fit for cultivation and some trees. Xenos consecrated this property to the above foundation and left the monk Eutychios as priest there.

Xenos returned to the monastery of Theotokos at Myriocephalon where he found poverty. After the *philochristoi* helped him to bring under cultivation a larger bit of land, he left for the village called **Mousela** where he bought from the inhabitants there two pieces of land; the same inhabitants presented to him two

more plots. At that place Xenos raised **Saint Patapios** as a *metochion* (dependent monastic unit) of the main monastery of Myriokephalon; he made a garden with trees and a vineyard and built buildings for the monks. He then collected from the *philochristoi* one hundred and fifty beehives which he put in the place called **Kyrianon**, which belonged to the area of the monastery of Myriokephalon. In this same place he planted trees and other plants of all sorts. Moreover, in the area of the monastery, he planted trees and a vineyard and he restored it as a paradise. After leaving twelve monks there, he went to the imperial and patriarchal authorities in **Constantinople** and acquired a chrysobull and privileges in order to protect his monastic foundations and strengthen them financially with money and other donations like clothes for the monks and the main church. From the *philochristoi* of the capital city he also received books, sacred vessels and holy icons which he consecrated to his monastic foundations together with all the donations the *philochristoi*, the archons and the bishops had made before his trip to the capital; these donations included a number of animals and sacred vessels for the monastic foundations.

Being very popular and realising that it was impossible for him to rest at all due to the people's persistence and religious zeal, and feeling that he was not following the command of God, Xenos left his monastic foundations once again to search for *eremia* and *hesychia*. At first, he went to a place called **Koufos** where he built a **church in the name of the Mother of God**, and also planted a vineyard, acquired some plots of ground for it and tonsured a monk, Kyrillos. Afterwards he went near the seashore where he built **Saint Pavlos** and up on the mountains in the village of **Azogyreas** he built **Saint Georgios** where he also organised an apiculture centre for the church. Finally he went to a desert place called **Akti** in the district of **Kissamos** where he chose to remain to avoid being disturbed by people.

The *Life of Ioannes Xenos* ends with a concluding paragraph on the details of his will for the future of his monastic foundations, their function, safety and well being.

Before presenting the arguments about the identification of Xenos with Eremites a reference to Eremites' life and deeds should

be made. According to archaeological evidence, the *Akolouthia* and the *synaxaria* of Ioannes Eremites that survive, Eremites lived at the beginning of the 16th century. He was from Egypt and came to Crete together with 98 companions from Cyprus, Egypt and Attaleia, areas that were under permanent Turkish threat during that period of time. Eremites with his companions first reached the island of Gavdos, south of western Crete, and then they arrived on the south coast of Crete. According to the written sources and Eremites' depiction on icons and Royal Doors Eremites was left behind in Gavdos by his companions and he used his cassock as if it was a boat to cross the sea and reach Crete. Together with his companions he lived a monastic life in a cave in the village of Azogyreas. He later decided to live on his own and after leaving his companions he started wandering around the mountains and the desert places of western Crete. A shepherd mistakenly took him for an animal while the holy man was wandering in desert and mountainous areas and attempted to shoot him with a bow. The holy man got hurt and entered a cave where he died. Scenes from the holy man's life are clearly depicted on icons (see photo 1).

The cave where he died is near the monastery of Gouverneto which was built between 1537-1548. It seems that the monastery of Gouverneto got connected with Eremites from the very beginning of its life as his depiction on the Royal Doors, dated to the middle of the 16th century, testifies. The cult of Eremites and its expansion in the area towards the end of the 16th century made the monastery consider an extension of its buildings; thus, the so-called *katholikon* of Saint Ioannes Eremites was built next to the cave where Eremites died according to the *synaxaria* and tradition. The earliest reference to this *katholikon* is of 1637.¹²

The identification of Ioannes Xenos with Ioannes Eremites by scholars was based on the misidentification of the toponyms

¹² This dating of Eremites is based on the date of the *synaxaria* (17th-18th century) and the date when he was canonised by the Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris (April 29th, 1632); cf. Tomadakis, " 'Ο ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἡ Διαθήκη αὐτοῦ", 48. For Ioannes Eremites and his connection with the monastery of Gouverneto, see M. G. Andrianakis, "Τρία ἀνέκδοτα κείμενα γιὰ τὸν ἅγιο Ἰωάννη τὸν Ἐρημίτη", *Παρνασσός* 24 (1982), 395-408; and Andrianakis, " 'Ο ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐρημίτης καὶ ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Γδερνέτου", *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ε' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* ("Ἅγιος Νικόλαος 1981), vol. 2, Heraklion 1985, 14-53 where a full bibliography on Eremites is used and cited.

recorded in *Xenos' Life* and the ones with which Eremites is connected. Another point that made scholars believe that these two holy men were the same person might be the fact that they were active in the same places of western Crete. It is not unlikely that Eremites followed in the steps of Xenos, who always remained a very popular local Saint; it is quite common and usual for holy men to do this. It should be noted though that such identification has not taken place in the religious conscience of people. The two Saints have always been worshipped separately.¹³

The main element that might have persuaded scholars of different periods of the identification of Xenos and Eremites, is the epithet *eremites* used in the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* in conjunction with the epithet *xenos*. The epithets *xenos* and *eremites* are both used as adjectives to denote special characteristics of a holy man. *Xenos* means "stranger", "foreigner" and is commonly used for monks and holy persons who refuse to reveal their origins in order to emphasise their distance from the world and their decision to live a monastic life based on separateness.¹⁴ *Eremites* meaning hermit is very often used for holy men.

Ioannes Xenos was known as *xenos* and *eremites* as his *Life* and his depiction on 14th century frescoes that survive, denote. The epithet *eremites* is used for Xenos in all 14th and 15th century frescoes that survive. Xenos though, was also known by the popular name *kyr-Ioannes* or *kyr-Yiannis*.¹⁵ A source of the 15th century (1415) refers to the church of Ai-kyr-Yiannis in Tsourouniana.¹⁶ The presence of Ioannes Eremites during the 16th century who was known by the epithet *eremites*, did not cause any confusion; the

¹³ On the worship of these two Saints and the places connected with their cult, see below.

¹⁴ *Xenos* became in effect a family name during the late Byzantine period and was characteristic of persons who were coming from different places and were foreigners in the new environment they chose to live; see Erich Trapp, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. 8, Vienna 1981, nos. 20864-20890. In the island of Crete *Xenos* as a family name appears as early as the 13th and 14th centuries; cf. Charalambos Gasparis, *Η γη και οι αγρότες στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη. 13ος -14ος αι.*, Athens 1997, 302-304. The epithet *xenos* was also used by scribes; cf. p. 12 and note 7.

¹⁵ The word *kyr* is used as a form of address for emperors, patriarchs and holy men.

¹⁶ This source is the account of the description of the island written by Buondelmonti, a priest from Florence who travelled around Crete at the beginning of the 15th century; on this source, see below.

epithets used in frescoes depicting the two holy men do not allow misunderstandings; Xenos is called *xenos* and *eremites* while Eremites is called by the name *eremites*. Moreover, the abandonment of the epithet *eremites* in the title of the popular version preserved in *Cisamensis* whose composition is dated after the period of Eremites, and its replacement with the popular *kyr-Ioannes* might be indicative of a change in the use of these epithets for precision.

Studies on Ioannes Xenos and his *Life*, and the problem of the identification of the two Saints, Ioannes Xenos and Ioannes Eremites.

The first edition of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* (*editio princeps*) by Hippolyte Delehaye was published in 1921 in the appendix of his study *Deux typica Byzantins de l' époque des Paléologues*.¹⁷ Delehaye was the first scholar to locate the *Life* in the manuscript *Canonicus graecus 19*, in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, which is the only extant manuscript today.

A year later, Anthimos Leledakis, the bishop of Kissamos and Selino counties in Crete, and a native of Myriokephala¹⁸ himself, independently edited the testament and the *Akolouthia* (liturgical service) of Ioannes Xenos from a manuscript located in the monastery of the Mother of God in Myriokephala.¹⁹ This manuscript was copied in 1843 as a note at its end testifies and is now lost.²⁰ The so-called testament preserved in this manuscript and edited by

¹⁷ See note 11.

¹⁸ In Xenos' *Life* the name Myriokephalon (τὸ Μυριοκέφαλον) appears as the name of the mountain where Xenos built a church in the name of the Mother of God, the Antiphonetria, and organised his main monastic foundation. Today, the village at this same place is called Myriokephala (τὰ Μυριοκέφαλα) which is the plural form of the same word. The main monastery of Xenos survives today and is located in the middle of the village.

¹⁹ Anthimos Leledakis, 'Ακολουθία ἀσματική τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κὺρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ λάμπαντος μετὰ τοῦ Βίου καὶ τῆς Πολιτείας αὐτοῦ ἐκδοθεῖσα ἐκ χειρογράφου ἀνακαθαρθέντος, διορθωθέντος καὶ εἰς καθαρεύουσιν γλῶσσαν καταγλαίσθέντος ὑπὸ Ἀνθίμου Λελεδάκη ἐπισκόπου Κισσάμου καὶ Σελίνου, Chania 1922 (reprinted in Titos Sylligardakis, *Κρητικὸν Λειμωνάριον*, Athens 1984, 64-78, esp. 73-78).

²⁰ Tomadakis, "'Ο ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἡ Διαθήκη αὐτοῦ", 51.

Leledakis is a popular version of the *Life*, which is quite similar to the one found in *Cisamensis*, edited by Tomadakis and cited in the appendix of this thesis. The main difference appearing in this version compared to the *Cisamensis*' version, is the date given for Xenos. According to this popular version Xenos was born when Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos was emperor (945-959) (ἐγεννήθη ... ἐπὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Κωνσταντίνου ἑβδόμου τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου) and Alexios the Studite was Patriarch (1025-1043); this discrepancy in dates proves the poor quality of this version and its later composition based on false information. Moreover, Leledakis decided to "clear", correct and beautify the language of this version as noted in the title of his study (ἀνακαθαρθέντος, διορθωθέντος καὶ εἰς καθαρεύουσιν γλῶσσιν καταγλαίσθέντος). This popular version cannot be considered as a reliable source due to its false internal references and also because Leledakis altered and distorted its character with his corrections.²¹ For the completion of his study Leledakis was helped by the priest Vassilios K. Blavakis, a native of Topolia of Kissamos county, who travelled around western Crete and followed in the steps of Ioannes Xenos in order to collect information about the Saint's travels and activities.

In 1924 the bishop L. Petit wrote an article about Ioannes Xenos where he discussed the information given in the *Life* of Xenos and especially the toponyms recorded.²² But as he was not aware of the archaeological monuments in the island, the local cult of the Saint and the topography of the island of Crete, he was misled by the same name of the two Saints, Ioannes Xenos and Ioannes Eremites, who is connected with the monastery in Gouverneto, and he ended up identifying them. Petit even attributed the building of the church of Gouverneto which is clearly dated to the 16th century, to Ioannes Xenos. This point made by L.

²¹ This second popular version edited by Leledakis is not going to detain us on other occasions as it is not considered a reliable source. But the similarities it presents with the *Cisamensis*' version might be indicative that it derived from the older *Cisamensis* version or that both popular versions derived from a third older version, now lost; for the manuscripts preserving the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* traced, see below.

²² L. Petit, "Saint Jean Xenos ou l' Ermite d' après son autobiographie", *Analecta Bollandiana* 42 (1924), 5-20.

Petit on the identification of the two holy men created a precedent, which misled scholars for many years.

In the following years N. B. Tomadakis, Professor at the University of Athens, studied the personality and activities of Ioannes Xenos thoroughly. In his first article²³ on Xenos published in 1948 he edited the text found in the manuscript *Canonicus graecus 19*, first edited by H. Delehaye in 1921, together with a popular version²⁴ of the *Life*, found in a 19th century copy of an 18th century manuscript, which was located in the church of Saints Eustathios and Ai-kyr-Yiannis in the village Tsourouniana of Kissamos county. The priest Vassilios K. Blavakis, who had also helped Leledakis in his study, made a copy of this manuscript for Tomadakis, so that he could produce a complete edition of the life and deeds of Ioannes Xenos.²⁵

Tomadakis, although a Cretan himself with a good knowledge of Cretan topography, accepted the theory of Petit regarding the identification of Xenos and Eremites. While he was aware of the differences in the extant *synaxaria* and the worship of the two Saints, in order to connect Xenos with the area of the Akrotiri in Chania where Eremites is worshipped in the monastery of Gouverneto, he identified the toponym Melix, as this appears in the *Life*, with the cape of Meleha, the older Arabic name of the Akrotiri. In the area of the cape Meleha there is the church of Saint Georgios Koumpeklis or Koumpelis which was identified by Tomadakis with the church of Saint Georgios Douvrikas, in the area of Melix according to the *Life of Ioannes Xenos*. But archaeological research has shown that the church of Saint Georgios Koumpeklis or Koumpelis is not dated to the 11th century when Xenos lived and built his monastic foundations; it is dated to the period of the Venetian occupation of the island²⁶.

²³ Tomadakis, " 'Ο ἅγιος 'Ιωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἡ Διαθήκη αὐτοῦ", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 2 (1948), 47-72.

²⁴ See Appendix.

²⁵ Tomadakis, " 'Ο ἅγιος 'Ιωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἡ Διαθήκη αὐτοῦ", 51; it is clear that Blavakis copied the manuscript and gave it to Tomadakis. This serial copying of the manuscript might have resulted in mistakes and alterations that cannot be identified now.

²⁶ P. Trimandili - M'Gann, " 'Αγιος Γεώργιος Κουμπελῆς Χανίων", *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ε' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* ("Αγιος Νικόλαος 1981), vol. 2, Heraklion 1985, 375-387.

In 1950 Tomadakis²⁷ edited a *canon* dedicated to Ioannes Xenos which was contained in the same manuscript with the popular version of the *Life* (the 19th century copy of the 18th century manuscript found in Kissamos and known as *Cisamensis*). This *canon* had been written by Dimitrios Souroumis (Δημήτριος Σουρούμης) who was a priest and scribe of the second half of the 17th century and was born in Alikianos, Crete. His personal interest in Xenos was probably stimulated by the fact that in this village Xenos had built a church dedicated to the Mother of God; in the *Life* there is reference to the building of this church in the place called Koufos, which is an area next to Alikianos.

Wishing to support his theory of the identification of Ioannes Xenos and Ioannes Eremites, Tomadakis edited hymnographical works about Ioannes Eremites in this same study: an alphabetical *canon* composed by an anonymous writer; a *canon* by Markos Hametis (Μάρκος Χαμετής) who is not known from other sources; and a *canon* containing only three odes (*triodyon*) by Gavriel Roditis (Γαβριήλ Ροδίτης) who lived in the 17th century. However, it is not difficult to realise that the content of the *canon* written by Souroumis coincides with the content of the *Life of Xenos*, while the content of the rest of the hymnographical works coincide with the *synaxarium* of Gouverneto referring to Eremites.²⁸ The *canon* by Souroumis refers to the many churches Ioannes (i.e. Xenos) built on the island and praises his deeds while the other three hymnographical works refer to Ioannes leaving his companions and wandering around the mountains and the valleys of Crete which indicate Eremites' life.

The first scholar who opposed Petit's and Tomadakis' view and proposed that Ioannes Xenos and Ioannes Eremites were two different holy men who lived during different periods of the Cretan history, was the archaeologist G. B. Antourakis²⁹. In his doctoral thesis published in 1977, he discussed the problem of the

27 Tomadakis, " 'Υμνογραφικά καὶ ἀγιολογικά 'Ιωάννου τοῦ Ξένου καὶ τρεῖς νέοι συγγραφεῖς κανόνων", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 20 (1950), 314-330.

28 Tomadakis contained in this study the *synaxarium* of Ioannes Eremites as this was preserved in a Lavra manuscript of the 17th century and is connected with the monastery of Gouverneto; see pages 362-329 of his study.

29 G. B. Antourakis, *Αἱ μοναὶ Μυριοκεφάλων καὶ Ρουστίκων μετὰ τῶν παρεκκλησίῶν αὐτῶν. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἔρευναν τῶν Χριστιανικῶν μνημείων τῆς Κρήτης*, Athens 1977, 31-37, esp. 36-37, note 13.

identification of Xenos and Eremites and lined up nine arguments for the dissociation of Xenos from Eremites. Tomadakis responded with an unfavourable book review³⁰, which was subsequently answered by Antourakis.³¹ This same year M. Chatzidakis proposed the dissociation of these two Saints in his work on the icons of Patmos.³² Chatzidakis states that icons of Ioannes Eremites presenting characteristic scenes from his life are painted after 1632, the year of Eremites being canonised by the decision of the Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris. He also adds that the cult and worship of Eremites in that period should be connected with the revival of the monastery of Gouverneto.

In another article in 1977 Tomadakis argued that the *synaxarium* of Eremites who is connected with the monastery of Gouverneto, must be a fictitious narration of a monk, because it is in opposition to the evidence of the *Life* of Xenos.³³ In 1980 Tomadakis edited the *makaristaria* (encomia) for Ioannes Eremites composed by Benedictus Tzangarolos who was the founder of the monastery of the Mother of God, the Hodegetria in Gonia (ca. 1637), and he argued that these encomia refer to Xenos as well.³⁴ He insists on the identification of Xenos and Eremites and also presents doubts about the information given in Xenos' *Life*. Tomadakis attributes the contradictory information about the death of the holy man (death because of illness and old age of Xenos and death of Eremites due to the shooting with a bow by a shepherd) to confusion of illiterate monks and also to local tradition and popular beliefs. Finally, Tomadakis in his last article in 'Επετηρίς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν of 1983-1986,³⁵ presented all the material he had collected about Xenos, which had been published in his

³⁰ Tomadakis, book review in 'Αθηνᾶ 76 (1978), 370-382.

³¹ Antourakis, *Περὶ τῶν μονῶν Μυριοκεφάλων καὶ Ρουστίκων Κρήτης – 'Απάντησις εἰς κριτικὴν* N. B. Τωμαδάκη, Athens 1978.

³² Manolis Chatzidakis, *Εἰκόνες τῆς Πάτμου. Ζητήματα βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς ζωγραφικῆς*, Athens 1977, 160-161 and plate no. 176.

³³ Tomadakis, " 'Ο ὁσιος 'Ιωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ οἱ ἐν Κρήτῃ ἀσκηταὶ οἱ κατὰ τὰς παραδόσεις τοξευθέντες ὡς ζῶα", 'Αθηνᾶ 76 (1977), 343-353, esp. 346; cf. Andrianakis, "Τρία ἀνέκδοτα κείμενα γιὰ τὸν ἅγιον 'Ιωάννη τὸν 'Ερημίτη", 400, note 20, where Tomadakis' view is rejected.

³⁴ Tomadakis, " 'Ιερομονάχου Βενεδίκτου Τζανκαρόλου, βίος καὶ ἔργον", *Κρητολογία* 10 (1980), 5-34.

³⁵ Tomadakis, " 'Ο ἅγιος 'Ιωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ 'Ερημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ. 10ος-11ος αἰών. 'Αγιολογικά καὶ Ὑμνολογικά", *Επετηρίς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 46 (1983-1986), 1-117.

previous studies, insisting on the identification of the two holy men, Ioannes Xenos and Ioannes Eremites.

The dissociation of Xenos and Eremites was supported with convincing arguments by the ephor of Byzantine antiquities in Crete, M. Andrianakis at the 5th International Congress of Cretan Studies³⁶. Andrianakis studied the *synaxaria*³⁷, the archaeological monuments and the iconography of the two Saints and concluded that Ioannes Xenos, who lived in the first half of the 11th century cannot be identified with Ioannes Eremites, the holy man who is connected with the monastery of Gouverneto at the beginning of the 16th century.

In 1993 N. Psilakis³⁸ mentioned the importance of the separate cult of Xenos and Eremites in different areas of the island of Crete, and stated that this element of geography might be the key for the solution of the identification problem.³⁹

An overall reassessment of the written sources, the archaeological evidence (monuments and iconography), and the cult of both Saints leads to this conclusion:

1. Written sources (the *Life* and also the *canon* by Souroumis) and archaeological evidence confirm that Ioannes Xenos was a native of Crete, born sometime at the end of the 10th century and active at the beginning of the 11th century. The first layer of frescoes of the monastery of the Mother of God in Myriokephala which was the main monastic foundation built by Xenos according to his *Life*, dates to the 11th century as do the rest of the churches that have been identified with the ones mentioned in his *Life*⁴⁰. Ioannes Eremites was an ascetic figure of the 16th century when Crete was under Venetian occupation; he was not of Cretan origin but came to Crete together with other *ascetes* and lived a monastic life wandering around the mountainous areas of western Crete. He

³⁶ Andrianakis, "Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐρημίτης καὶ ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Γδερνέτου", 14-53.

³⁷ Andrianakis, "Τρία ἀνέκδοτα κείμενα γιὰ τὸν ἅγιο Ἰωάννη τὸν Ἐρημίτη", *Παρνασσός* 24 (1982), 395-408.

³⁸ N. Psilakis, *Μοναστήρια καὶ Ἐρημητήρια τῆς Κρήτης*, vol. 2, Heraklion 1993, 194.

The problem of the identification of Xenos and Eremites and their dissociation detained Psilakis. He did not attempt, though, to propose a solution to the problem.

³⁹ For the separate worship of Xenos and Eremites and the places connected to them, see below.

⁴⁰ For the monastic foundations of Xenos and their dating, see relevant entries in the Commentary.

is connected with the monastery of Gouverneto (built between 1537-1548) and the katholikon, at the place where he also died, was built towards the end of the 16th century and beginning of the 17th century with its earliest reference being to the year 1637; its building should be seen as an extension of the main monastery of Gouverneto which was due to the popularity of the holy man to the population of Crete.

2. A closer look at the hymnographical works for the two Saints proves their dissociation. In none of these works is there any confusion between Xenos and Eremites. Moreover, none of the Cretan priests who wrote such works, i.e. Dimitrios Souroumis, Benedictus Tzangarolos and Georgios Velimas, confuses them or identifies them as one person. Of special note should be the *Akolouthia* composed by Velimas in 1782. Velimas thought Eremites to be a new Saint and composed his *Akolouthia* "imitating old ones" as mentioned in the *Akolouthia* itself.⁴¹

3. The two Saints have always been worshipped separately in Crete and their cult is associated with the places where they were active. Thus, Ioannes Xenos is commemorated on September 20th in Siva of Pyrgiotissa (his birthplace), in Myriocephala (where his main monastic foundation was built and still exists today), in Akti of Kissamos county and in Tsourouniana, while Ioannes Eremites is commemorated on October 7th in the katholikon of the monastery in Gouverneto, and in the monastery of the Holy Fathers in Azogyreas of Selinon county where he is commemorated together with his 98 companions who arrived together with him in Crete. The places where Xenos is commemorated (except Tsourouniana where according to tradition his skull was transferred at a later stage⁴²) are mentioned in his *Life* and are connected with his activities. Many places in Crete, and especially of its western part, are connected with the two Saints whose popularity still remains great to date. Some of these places have been connected with the holy men's lives and deeds according to sources while other places got connected with them by oral tradition and popular beliefs.

⁴¹ On Velimas and his work, see Andrianakis, "Τρία ανέκδοτα κείμενα για τὸν ἅγιον Ἰωάννη τὸν Ἐρημίτη", 397-400; idem, "Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐρημίτης καὶ ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Γδερνέτου", 42-43.

⁴² See Andrianakis, "Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐρημίτης καὶ ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Γδερνέτου", 40-41.

4. Ioannes Xenos is depicted in surviving frescoes dated from the 14th century onwards. Xenos appears as an old man facing the viewer; he is standing and holds a cross with his left hand (see photo 2). Representations of Xenos are displayed in the church dedicated to Ioannes Xenos at Akti which is according to tradition the burial place of the Saint, in the churches of Saint Nikolaos at Mouri, Kissamos (first decades of the 14th century), Saint Michael at Kavalariana (1327-1328), Saint Georgios at Tsourouniana (1331), Saint Ioannes at Trahiniakos (1328-1329), Saint Ioannes the Theologian in Elos (first half of the 14th century); there is also a representation of Ioannes Xenos at the cave of Saint Ioannes at Koudoumas (1360) which is in the prefecture of Heraklion. Finally the church dedicated to him in the village of Apano Floria (1462) shows Xenos' cult surviving in the 15th century.⁴³ In contrast, Ioannes Eremites only started to appear in frescoes and icons sometime in the middle of the 16th century. His iconographic type was formed by combining the traditional representation of Xenos with information derived from Ioannes Eremites' *synaxarium* (see photo 1). Most of the portable icons that depict Eremites are dated after 1632, the year when he was canonised.⁴⁴

5. Christoforo Buondelmonti, a priest from Florence, who travelled around the island of Crete in 1415, wrote a *Descriptio Insule Crete*. He mentions that after going to the church of Saint Pavlos in Sfakia, a church built by Xenos, he visited the church of Ai-kyr-Yiannis in Tsourouniana. There he paid respect to the relics of the Saint and also saw the manuscript with his testament. Buondelmonti also describes how the monks and the people of the village thought that he wanted to take the manuscript of the testament with him, and drove him away violently.⁴⁵ Although Buondelmonti visited the area of Akrotiri in Chania during his journey in Crete, he did not mention Ioannes Eremites nor the

⁴³ See Andrianakis, "Ο ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐρημίτης καὶ ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Γδερνέτου", esp. 43-47, and photos of depictions on frescoes of both Saints; cf. Maria Vassilakis-Mavrakakis, *The Church of the Virgin Gouverniotissa at Potamies, Crete*, PhD dissertation (unpublished), Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, London 1986, Appendix, 397-400, where she discusses the possible revival of Xenos' cult during the 14th century.

⁴⁴ See above.

⁴⁵ Marie-Anne Van Spitael, ed., *Cristoforo Buondelmonti. Descriptio Insule Crete et liber insularum, cap. xi: Creta*, Heraklion Crete 1981, 195.

monastery of Gouverneto, so well known after the 16th century. This is significant for the dating of Eremites to the 16th century and not earlier.

Five (5) manuscripts preserving the *Life* of Xenos have been traced, either in a form close to the original of the 11th century or in a popular form⁴⁶: (1) *Canonicus graecus 19*, a manuscript of the 15th-16th century with a 14th-15th century version of the text; (2) *Cisamensis*, which is a 19th century copy of an earlier manuscript (3) of the 18th century located in Tsourouniana; (4) the manuscript located in Myriokephala in 1922 that contained a popular version of the *Life*, very close to the one contained in *Cisamensis*. This manuscript contained the *Life* (called *testament*) and the *Akolouthia* of Xenos, and were edited by Leledakis; the manuscript was copied in 1843 and is now lost. The similarities it presents with the *Cisamensis*' version might indicate that it derived from *Cisamensis* or the copy (manuscript no. 3) from which *Cisamensis* derived, or even that both popular versions derived from another older version, now lost; and (5) the manuscript that Buondelmonti saw in Tsourouniana during his journey around Crete in 1415. It is worth noting that *Canonicus graecus 19* is dated between 1450 and 1550;⁴⁷ thus it was copied after the journey of Buondelmonti in Crete which makes the manuscript Buondelmonti saw, the earliest one traced. Of these five manuscripts, only *Canonicus graecus 19* of the Bodleian Library, Oxford exists today.

To sum up. Ioannes Xenos and Ioannes Eremites are two different persons who lived in two different periods. One manuscript of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* survives. The *Life* is the only literary evidence for the Saint and the only literary source for the period after the Arab occupation of Crete which is a period characterised by a limited number of sources. Thus, the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* is a very important source containing valuable information about Crete in the late 10th and the 11th century.

⁴⁶ For a discussion and a connection of the surviving manuscripts and versions, see Chapter 3. 2.

⁴⁷ The manuscript was actually copied during the final decades of the 15th century; see Chapter 4.

Chapter one

The historical context of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos*

1. Historical outline

The excellent geographical and strategical position of the island of Crete together with its fertile land and wealth are two factors that should always be taken into account when discussing the island's history. These two characteristics favoured the development of various activities that were important for the island itself as well as for those who conquered and controlled it. Commercial, naval and military activities that evolved in the island, made Crete one of the most important places in the wider area of the Mediterranean. Consequently, Crete became a frequent target of attacks by prospective conquerors who wanted to control the island and profit by it.

From late Roman times Crete was a province of the Diocese of Macedonia which belonged to the "Praefectura Praetorio per Illyricum".¹ After 395 eastern Illyricum came under the political and administrative jurisdiction of the eastern empire² but remained ecclesiastically dependent on papal jurisdiction. It was in 732-733 that Illyricum was transferred to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople and the bishops of Crete became suffragans of the Church of Constantinople.³

The period from the 5th to the 13th century is characterised by a silence and obscurity regarding Crete. Crete does not appear in the literary sources of that period unless it is involved in events of major importance like the island's conquest by the Arabs (ca. 826) and its reconquest by the Byzantines (961).⁴

¹ Notitia Dignitatum Or. III in O. Seeck, ed., *Notitia Dignitatum utriusque imperii*, Berlin 1876; cf. D. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete. From the 5th century to the Venetian Conquest*, Athens 1988, 20 and 155, note 1.

² Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 198, note 5 for relevant bibliography.

³ Judith Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom*, London 1987, 351-352; Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 205, note 35.

⁴ Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 20. The question of sources will detain us on many occasions.

This kind of silence characterises other islands as well like Cyprus and Rhodes; we know nothing about these areas until the Arabs make a raid or natural disasters like earthquakes take place. Theophanes' *Chronographia*, which is the main source for the years 284-813, refers to the islands of Crete, Cyprus and Rhodes only when an earthquake, an Arab raid or a conflict between the Arabs and the Byzantines takes place.

Regarding the islands of Crete and Cyprus there is a noteworthy resemblance; these islands are alike in that they are bigger than all other islands in the Aegean, and they always had a considerable agricultural

a. The period before the Arab conquest of Crete (5th to 9th century)

A characteristic of this period from the beginning of the 5th century to the date of the conquest of the island of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 826), is the lack of sources and mainly of literary ones.

A series of calamities marked the transition from the 4th to the 5th century for Crete; violent earthquakes, plague and famines. However, the destruction caused by natural forces (mainly earthquakes during the 4th and 5th centuries) and the needs of the Church after the expansion and triumph of Christianity caused great building activity especially during the second half of the 5th and most of the 6th centuries when many basilicas were built.⁵ The plague that struck in 541-2 probably affected the East Mediterranean.⁶ We have very little evidence for the 7th century in Crete and the fragmentary information does not allow us to form a clearer and more precise view for the island during this period. The island might have been a peaceful and quiet province far away from the frontiers and the areas of turbulence and upheavals.

The sudden appearance and rapid expansion of the Arabs affected Crete dramatically. The first recorded raid of the Arabs against Crete was conducted in 654.⁷ Other sources, Byzantine and Arabic, refer to Crete as being the object of repeated attacks during the second half of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century; these raids are not presented as simple ones but as serious efforts to conquer the whole island.⁸ At the beginning of the 8th century the Arabs made their appearance once again. They were encouraged by the fall of Carthage (698) and their subsequent conquest of North Africa during the first decade of the 8th century.

production. Although situated in critical points of the eastern Mediterranean, they never acquired a specifically maritime or naval character; they served only as way stations of international sea traffic, and they acquired an increased feeling of self-sufficiency.

⁵ I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete*, Warminster, Wilts 1982, 89-131; I.H. Volanakis, "Τὰ παλαιοχριστιανικά μνημεῖα τῆς Κρήτης", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 27 (1987), 235-261; Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 20, 21 and notes 3, 4, 5 for sources.

⁶ H. B. Dewing, ed. and translator, *Procopius, History of the Wars*, London-New York 1914, II, xxii-xxiii, esp. xxii. 9-10.

⁷ Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 22, note 9 for sources.

⁸ V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824); a turning point in the struggle between Byzantium and Islam*, Athens 1984, 89ff.; Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 22-26 and notes for sources.

In addition to that, internal strife resulted in the weakness of Byzantium to defend itself. As a result the Arabs besieged Constantinople in 717-8 and sent new raids against Crete.⁹ The 8th century was for Crete a difficult period; apart from the numerous Arab raids, the island came to face natural disasters similar to those of the 5th century. The plague that struck Constantinople in 746-7, had struck Crete some time prior to that¹⁰ and it also brought a severe drought which caused famine.¹¹ In 796 a terrible earthquake struck Crete.¹² However, despite all the disasters Crete had to face in the last decade of the 8th century the island appears as a very fertile and prosperous island. The *Life* of Nikolaos the Studite praises the island for its immense wealth in grain, wine and fruits.¹³ It is the nature of historical texts to refer mainly to disasters like wars, earthquakes and raids, while other sources like *Saints' Lives* might give information on the actual situation of an area.

The administrative position of Crete and its military status

The administrative position of Crete as defined by the *Notitia Dignitatum*¹⁴ did not undergo any significant change between the 5th and the 7th centuries; the high social rank denoted by the titles of the officials who governed the island, signifies the importance of the island among the other provinces.¹⁵ Changes to the

⁹ Works related to the famous hymnographer, Archbishop Andreas of Crete provide information on the new Arab raids against Crete; these works are two *encomia* written and delivered by Andreas in Crete, the first to Saint Titos (PG 97, 1141B-1170C, esp. 1168B) and the second to the Ten Holy Martyrs (V. Laourdas, " 'Ανδρέου 'Αρχιεπισκόπου Κρήτης τοῦ 'Ιεροσολυμίτου, ἐγκώμιον εἰς τοὺς Ἁγίους Δέκα καὶ Καλλινίκους Μάρτυρας", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 3 (1949), 85-127, esp. 116); cf. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 24-25.

¹⁰ Information derived from the *Life* of Andreas of Crete; see A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *Ἀνάλεκτα 'Ιεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, vol. V, Saint Petersburg 1898, 169-179, esp. 177; cf. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 25.

¹¹ Information derived from an 11th century *encomion* dedicated to the same Saint; see Th. Detorakis, " 'Ανέκδοτον ἐγκώμιον εἰς 'Ανδρέαν Κρήτης", *'Επετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 37 (1969-70), 85-94, esp. 93; cf. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 26.

¹² C. de Boor, ed., *Theophanis Chronographia*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1883-85, 470.

¹³ PG 105, 863A-926C, esp. 868C.

¹⁴ See above.

¹⁵ For the significance of the titles of the officials and their duties in Crete of these centuries, see Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 155-164.

administrative organisation of the island occurred in the 7th and 8th centuries after the fall of Egypt, the first raids of the Arabs against Crete and their presence as a permanent threat for the Byzantine empire. During these centuries the Byzantines' main concern was to reorganise their state; particularly its naval forces, in a conscious attempt by the empire to keep the route from the Black Sea to Italy and Sicily free of the Arab raids. In addition the thematic system was expanded and developed gradually throughout the 7th century.¹⁶

The lack of sources has given rise to many questions regarding the administrative and military status of the island. After the appearance and initial expansion of the thematic system the administrative position of Crete remains uncertain. It is questionable if Crete was a *thema* by itself or belonged to another *thema* (of Hellas or Peloponnesos). The existence or not of a naval base in Crete should also be related to the administrative situation of Crete. The important geographical and strategical position of the island made some scholars believe that Crete should have been a *thema* by itself before the Arab conquest, even if the sources available, mainly archaeological evidence, could not support this argument in a satisfactory way.¹⁷

It is not known whether or not Crete ever became a regular naval base during this period. There is no evidence to indicate that Crete was one of the naval bases of the *Karavisiatoi*, the naval command which must have been organised in the second half of the 7th century. It was under the command of a *strategos* (general) and

¹⁶ Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, 201-2; Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 29.

¹⁷ Scholars that have supported this theory include: G. Spyridakes, "Τὸ θέμα τῆς Κρήτης πρὸ τῆς κατακτήσεως τῆς νήσου ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 21 (1951), 59-68; Hélène Ahrweiler, "L' administration militaire de la Crète byzantine", *Byzantion* 31 (1961), 217-228 (=study xi in Ahrweiler, *Études sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance*, London 1971); Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, Paris 1966; N. Oikonomides, *Les Listes de Préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles*, Paris 1972; Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 101ff.; Judith Herrin, "Crete in the conflicts of the eighth century", *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Ν. Σβορώνο*, I, Rethymno 1986, 113-126.

Scholars that have rejected this theory include V. Laurent, "Le statut de la Crète byzantine avant et après sa libération du joug arabe (961)", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 15-16 (1961-1962), 382-396; and Tsougarakis.

For a discussion of the theories, see Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 164-178, who believes that Crete became a *thema* during the first half of the 9th century immediately after the Arab conquest; see below for his theory, mainly based on seal finds.

its task was to protect the islands and the coastline of the Aegean from the Arab raids.¹⁸ Nor can the presence of almost the entire Byzantine fleet in Crete in 698 be seen as an indication of a strong naval capacity in the island; after this last unsuccessful attempt to regain Carthage the Byzantine fleet returning to Constantinople stopped at Crete. Crete was an intermediate station along the route from Carthage to Constantinople and it was used as a staging post.¹⁹

Although the administrative changes of the 7th century are obscure, the finds of seals belonging to officials of the army or the central government show the state's presence in the island during this period.²⁰ Crete received its administrators from Constantinople as seals belonging to administrative officials, especially *kommerkiarioi* (tax collectors), indicate.²¹ A *strategos*²² of Crete is first mentioned in the *Life* of Saint Stephen the Younger in 767; however, this testimony has been contested as ambiguous, and in any case it is not supported by sigillographic evidence.²³ The only surviving seal of a *strategos* dates to the end of the 8th century (*Stephen strategos*; no name of province follows).²⁴ However, this seal cannot by itself prove that Crete was a *thema* as early as the 8th century, since Stephen could have been *strategos* of any province or even *strategos* of a *thema* which included Crete as well. Similarly, the seal of a *tourmarches* (the first assistant of the

¹⁸ See Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer*, 19ff.; Hélène Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance à propos du thème des Caravisiens*, Paris 1966, 63-98.

¹⁹ *Theophanis Chronographia*, 370; for the naval bases used as staging posts by the Byzantines, see Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la Mer*, 12, note 4.

²⁰ For the Cretan seals, see Tsougarakis, "The Byzantine Seals of Crete", *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, vol. 2, Washington, D. C. 1990, 137-152; Tsougarakis, "Some unpublished lead seals of Crete", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 48 (1990), 243-246; John Nesbitt and Nicolas Oikonomides, eds., *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art; South of the Balkans, the Islands, South of Asia Minor*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, vol. 2, Washington, D. C. 1994, 94-100 (for seals of Crete).

²¹ Tsougarakis, "The Byzantine Seals of Crete", 140-141.

²² *Strategos* was the title of the governor of a *thema*, the military division and territorial unit, who combined both military and civil power; they were appointed by Constantinople.

²³ Marie-France Auzépy, *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre. Introduction, édition et traduction*, Birmingham 1997, 160 (§58) and 258; cf. Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks*, 94.

²⁴ Tsougarakis, "The Byzantine Seals of Crete", 139-140, catalogue no. 33.

strategos)²⁵ dated to the first half of the 9th century cannot by itself prove the existence of a *thema*, for this *tourmarches* could be subordinate to a *strategos* of a larger *thema* of which Crete was a part.²⁶ A series of eight preserved seals that are dated between the second half of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century, show that the island was under the command of an archon appointed by a superior Constantinopolitan authority.²⁷ These archons have been considered as naval officials by some scholars;²⁸ however, they did not have exclusively maritime duties.²⁹ The presence of all these archons during the 8th and 9th centuries (and the absence of terms such as *strategos* or *tourmarches*) might indicate that the island had not become a *thema* before the 9th century. According to this theory it would have been elevated to a *thema* immediately after the Arab conquest when various *strategoi* were sent to examine the Arab progress; to this period the seal of the *tourmarches* dates.³⁰

However, the coexistence of a *strategos* and an archon in Crete remains enigmatic; both officials are mentioned in the *Taktikon Uspenskij* (ca. 842-3)³¹ but they both disappeared from the Byzantine administrative lists when the island came under firm Arab control. After the reconquest by Nikephoros Phokas (961) Crete became the seat of a *strategos*; in the 10th century *Taktikon of Escorial* (971-975) he is placed between those of Cyprus and Hellas.³²

²⁵ Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks*, 97, catalogue no. 36.6.

²⁶ Tsougarakis has suggested that this *tourmarches* must be related to the military operations of the early 9th century on the island; see Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 174.

²⁷ Tsougarakis, "The Byzantine Seals of Crete", 141-142, catalogue nos. 16-23; Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks*, 95, catalogue nos. 36.1, 36.2.

²⁸ e.g. Ahrweiler, "L' administration militaire de la Crète byzantine", 217-228, esp. 218-219; Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, 54-66.

²⁹ Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 175, note 92.

³⁰ This theory has been supported by Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 175, note 92. For the seal, see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks*, 97, catalogue no. 36.6.

³¹ Oikonomides, *Listes*, 49.18 and 53.5, 55.3. *Taktika* were the official administrative lists of titles and offices.

³² Oikonomides, *Listes*, 265.27; for seals of *strategoi* of Crete, see Tsougarakis, "The Byzantine Seals of Crete", 141. For the administrative organisation of

Ecclesiastical organisation

The available sources for the Church of Crete and its internal organisation are mainly the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, the *Acts of Councils* and finds of seals; moreover, *Saints' Lives* add to our knowledge of this poorly documented period of the history of Crete.

The *Notitiae Episcopatum* are lists (τάξις or ἑκθεσις) of ecclesiastical dioceses arranged in hierarchical order; first the metropolitan sees are mentioned, then autonomous archbishoprics, and finally bishoprics suffragan to metropoleis. However, the *Notitiae* as ecclesiastical sources should be regarded and treated with some circumspection.³³ Twenty-one *Notitiae* have been numbered, and Crete appears in fourteen of them.³⁴ *Notitia* 3 (late 8th-early 9th century) refers to the period we are examining, though according to Darrouzès it is not an official ecclesiastic

Crete after 961, see Nesbitt-Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks*, 94.

³³ Until recently the *Notitiae* had been overestimated as they were thought to be official acts and registers of the metropolitan sees, archbishoprics and bishoprics of the eastern Church. The exceptional work of Darrouzès has given the *Notitiae* their real historical value; J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae (texte critique, introduction et notes)*, Paris 1981.

When using the *Notitiae* we should keep in mind that problems arise mainly from their manuscript traditions; the plethora of manuscripts together with their various datings and differentiations, sometimes make the *Notitiae* look complicated and quite often unreliable regarding not only their dating but also the information provided (e.g. in some manuscripts of the *Notitia* 8 Crete is ranked 43rd and in some other manuscripts 51st). The *Notitiae* are not chronologically helpful except in the broadest terms. Besides, their lists of bishoprics and the order of precedence they present, cannot be regarded as representing the official view or as being a priori correct. All these observations regarding the *Notitiae* and their value as ecclesiastical sources apply particularly to those provinces and sees whose presence was not continuous within the Byzantine political sphere. One of the best examples is the island of Crete.

³⁴ Crete's rank varies even in *Notitiae* of the same century (e.g. the 12th century *Notitiae* 13 and 14; in the former *Notitia* Crete occupies the 30th/31st position, but in the latter it occupies the 46th position). Moreover, it is also the case that in *Notitiae* of the same century Crete is not consistently recorded (e.g. *Notitiae* 8 and 9 of the 10th c.; Crete appears in 8 but not in 9). However, even if Crete appears as a metropolis, not all of the *Notitiae*, comprise lists of suffragan bishoprics. Only four *Notitiae* give lists of the suffragan bishoprics: *Notitiae* 2 (though a mistake of the compiler makes the surviving list of no use as far as Crete is concerned), 3 (late 8th-early 9th century), 10 (10th-11th century) and 13 (12th century).

document.³⁵ It is a peculiar compilation that has combined sources which cannot be easily traced. In this *Notitia* Crete is ranked 9th among the other metropolitan sees and it has twelve towns with Gortyne as the metropolis ('Επαρχία Κρήτης νήσου ἔχει πόλεις ιβ' . α'. Γορτύνη μητρόπολις). The list of suffragan bishops that follows, is very close to the one in the *Acts* of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787) in which the attendance of the bishops of each area is mentioned;³⁶ of the twelve names of cities that both the *Notitia* and the *Acts* contain, ten names are common, while two of the names are absent from each of these two lists.³⁷ The episcopal sees that are listed in these sources (see table 1), show the organisation of the Cretan Church which was highly ranked among the other churches after the annexation of eastern Illyricum to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople and in the period before the Arab occupation of the island.

Sigillographic evidence records only five ecclesiastical seals dated between the 5th and the 9th centuries; three of them belonged to metropolitans or archbishops of Crete, one to a bishop without mentioning his bishopric, and one to the bishopric of Kissamos.³⁸ Special attention should be given to the seal of a certain Andreas, metropolitan of Crete, who must have been the famous hymnographer Andrew of Crete (ordained in 710/11 or later, and died in 740); his see had at that time close relations with Thessaloniki while both were still under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome.³⁹

Regarding the situation in the island during the iconoclastic controversy the sources again remain silent. It is unknown which part of the Cretan population remained faithful to the icons and which part joined the iconoclasts. We have only one source recording persecution of an iconophile monk⁴⁰, although Theophanes, an iconophile himself, talks generally about the

³⁵ Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatum*, 31 and 20-33.

³⁶ G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Paris-Leipzig 1901-1927, vols. 12, 994 and 13, 136, 145.

³⁷ Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatum*, 29.

³⁸ Tsougarakis, "The Byzantine Seals of Crete", 138-139, catalogue nos. 1-5.

³⁹ Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 203ff.

⁴⁰ Auzépy, *La vie d' Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre* (§58); see also Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 27.

oppression of the pious Christians by the government.⁴¹ That the population of Crete, especially the clergy, remained faithful to the icons, is clearly shown by the fact that the second Council of Nicaea (787) was attended by the archbishop of Crete and almost his entire synod; it was actually the largest number of Cretan prelates ever to participate in an Ecumenical Council.⁴²

b. The Arab conquest of Crete

The Arabs who conquered Crete were in fact Arabs from Andalusia, Spain, who were forced to leave the country after their rebellion in Cordoba, and seek refuge in other Muslim countries. They reached Alexandria and taking advantage of the internal strife in Egypt, they took the city and settled there. When the internal situation in Alexandria changed, the Andalusian Arabs were forced to leave on condition that they would not try to settle in an Islamic country. So since the Andalusians were already familiar with Crete from previous raids, they sailed to the island, conquered it and settled there. The Byzantine sources record that the Arabs who conquered Crete came directly from Spain and not via Egypt; all the Arab sources though give more or less the same account regarding the previous settlement of the Arabs in Alexandria, Egypt.⁴³

As for the date of the conquest of Crete the sources complicate rather than clarify it; both Arabic and Byzantine sources are biased and often give contradictory information. Moreover, legendary elements that are interwoven together with historical facts have given rise to several theories regarding the actual date. The majority of the Byzantine sources connect the loss of Crete to the revolt of Thomas the Slav (821-823): due to that event the

⁴¹ *Theophanis Chronographia*, 413; see also Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 28.

⁴² The archbishop of Crete and eleven bishops attended the Council of Nicaea in 787: 'Ηλίας, ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Κρητῶν νήσου, 'Επιφάνιος, ἐπίσκοπος Λάμπης, Θεόδωρος, ἐπίσκοπος 'Ηρακλειουπόλεως, 'Αναστάσιος, ἐπίσκοπος Κνωσσοῦ, Μελίτων, ἐπίσκοπος Κυδωνίας, Λέων, ἐπίσκοπος Κισάμου, Θεόδωρος ἐπίσκοπος Σουβρίτων, Λέων, ἐπίσκοπος Φοίνικος, 'Ιωάννης ἐπίσκοπος 'Αρκαδίας, 'Επιφάνιος, ἐπίσκοπος 'Ελευθέρνης, Φωτεινός, ἐπίσκοπος Καντάνου, Σισίνιος, ἐπίσκοπος Χερσονήσου; see Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 13, 136, 145.

⁴³ Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 81-95, esp. 81-84 and 90-92, with relevant bibliography and references to Byzantine and Arabic sources.

Byzantine fleet was destroyed, the islands remained unprotected and the Arabs were faced with no opposition in their attempt to land on Crete and conquer it. Thus, according to these sources the conquest of Crete should be dated to 823-824. Another theory proposes the period after 825-826, which is the earliest date given for the fall of Alexandria. In addition contemporary Arab authors who wrote very close to the event, give 827 as the date of the conquest of Crete.⁴⁴

Despite the difficulties caused by the available sources, two facts should be regarded as certain regarding Crete; that the Arabs knew the island from at least one previous raid and that the conquest was completed gradually over a long period of time that must have covered more than ten, probably fifteen years.⁴⁵ The fact that Crete appears as a Byzantine territory during the years of its conquest by the Arabs both in Arabic and Byzantine sources might be an indication of its gradual conquest.⁴⁶ An Arabic list of Byzantine territories of the years 838-848 comprises Crete, while the island is also included in the *Taktikon Uspenskij* of ca. 842-3.⁴⁷ Clearly, the Byzantines never renounced their claims on Crete, which is also indicated by the numerous repeated attempts of the Byzantines to reconquer the island.

c. Byzantine expeditions against the Arabs

The loss of Crete destroyed the balance of power that had existed up to that time in the eastern Mediterranean and created

⁴⁴ For all relevant theories regarding the date of the conquest of Crete and for the sources available, see N. M. Panagiotakes, "Ζητήματα τινά της κατακτήσεως της Κρήτης υπό τῶν Ἀράβων", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 15-16 (1961-1962), 9-41; Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 1-33 (for a detailed presentation of the Byzantine and Arabic sources available), 85-88; Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 31-34 and 37-40.

⁴⁵ On these two facts, see Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 35-37 and 40-41. Regarding the gradual conquest of Crete, see N. M. Panagiotakes, "Ζητήματα τινά της κατακτήσεως της Κρήτης υπό τῶν Ἀράβων", 17ff., who first proposed such a theory. He argues that the conquest of Crete took place in stages and this explains the numerous contradictions in the sources.

⁴⁶ Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 40-41 and for the Arabic list, see also page 169 and note 70.

⁴⁷ However, by ca. 842-3 the island was under Arab occupation and Byzantine expeditions had already taken place for its reconquest.

entirely new conditions. The conquest of Crete by the Arabs proved to be an event with far reaching consequences. Situated in the middle of the eastern Mediterranean, Crete's strategic position was ideal for controlling the area. Its loss to the Arabs was a hard blow to the Byzantine empire as the Arabs secured a powerful base that gave them dominance over all the sea routes of the East. Their raids became more numerous and more dangerous with devastating results for the islands of the Archipelago and the Aegean coasts. Consequently, Crete became one of the main concerns of the eastern empire.

Many expeditions were organised by the Byzantines to reconquer the island. Once again, the sources do not help us regarding the timing and the dates of these expeditions. The uncertainty of these sources complicates the reconquest of Crete yet further. The sequence of events presented by Byzantine authors should not be taken "too literally" as Tsougarakis says "because the unity of narration and the 'οἰκονομία' of their work were more important for the Byzantine writers than the exact chronological succession of the narrated events".⁴⁸

Byzantine expeditions to reconquer the island started very early, namely right after the loss of Crete to the Arabs. Byzantine sources point out the haste of the Byzantines and emphasise that they did not wait for a long time to take action against the conquerors of the island;⁴⁹ however, these sources do not give any clear indication regarding the date of the island's conquest by the Arabs.

The first expedition to Crete was lead by Photeinos, who was later supported by Damianos, during the reign of either Michael II (820-829) or Theophilos (829-842)⁵⁰. Two more expeditions

⁴⁸ Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 41-42.

⁴⁹ Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 88 where he quotes Genesios and Theophanes. Both writers mention in their works that the Byzantines rushed to go to Crete (ἀπᾶραι εἰς Κρήτην καὶ σπουδῇ πάσῃ τοὺς ταύτης οἰκήτορας Σαρακηνοὺς ὀλοθρεῦσαι; see A. Lesmüller-Werner and I. Thurn, eds., *Iosephii Genesii Regum libri quattuor*, Berlin-New York 1978, 34.39-41) without wasting time (χρόνος δὲ ἐρρῶν πολὺς οὐδαμῶς; see I. Bekker, ed., *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Caminiata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus*, Bonn 1838, 76.7-8).

⁵⁰ According to Genesios and Theophanes Continuatus the expeditions led by Photeinos and Damianos took place in the reign of Michael II (820-829). However, this does not seem to have happened within less than two years (827/8-829) taking into account that the conquest of Crete might be dated ca. 826. In that case, we should extend the period of time of these expeditions to

followed, led by Krateros and Ooryphas, that should also be dated in the reign of Theophilos.⁵¹ According to Theophanes Continuatus⁵², Ooryphas was consuming his soul night and day in the affairs of Crete ('Αλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ αὐτῆς [τῆς Κρήτης] Θεῶ πάντως μελήσει, μελήσει δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν τὴν ψυχὴν δαπανῶσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς). All these attempts to expel the Arabs from the island of Crete proved unsuccessful.

In 843, after the restoration of the icons, another expedition was organised against Crete led by the *Logothete* Theoktistos, a prominent member of the regency council at the time. Byzantine forces reached Crete and attacked the Arabs successfully but a false rumour that was spread concerning Constantinople and political developments there, made Theoktistos leave in great haste and as a result, the rest of the army left in Crete was annihilated by the Arabs. In this expedition the actual commander of the army was the magister Sergios Niketiates whose participation in the Cretan expedition is mentioned in the *Synaxarium*. He was sent to Crete "ἐξάρχειν καὶ κυριεύειν παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου", meaning he was the commander-in-chief of the army. Sergios Niketiates died in Crete and was buried in the monastery which "until this day is called of the Magister", as is clearly mentioned in the *Synaxarium* of the Constantinopolitan Church, which has entries no later than the mid-10th century.⁵³

After the expedition of 843 which failed, another expedition was organised under the reign of Michael III (843-867). Bardas the Caesar conceived and prepared the new operation against Crete but it was never realised as Bardas was killed in front of Michael III by the future emperor Basil I. During his reign (867-886) no new attempts were made against Crete as it was thought that they

the reign of Theophilos (829-842). For dates and different theories regarding these expeditions, see Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 41-43.

⁵¹ Regarding the expedition of the latter, see Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 43-46, where he disagrees with H. Ahrweiler on the naval forces involved in these expeditions, and also records arguments by other scholars regarding this same expedition.

⁵² *Theophanes Continuatus*, 81. 13-15.

⁵³ H. Delehaye, ed., *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae in Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, Bruxelles 1902, 777, where Niketiates' participation in the Cretan expedition is mentioned. For additional information, see Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 47-48; on Theoktistos' expedition, see Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 46-48.

would be suicidal after the previous unsuccessful ones. Attention was devoted to another imperial island, Cyprus.⁵⁴

During the reign of Leo VI (886-912) the Arabs intensified their raids particularly during the first decade of the 10th century when the sack of Thessaloniki in 904 by Leo of Tripoli was their most significant achievement.⁵⁵ This unprecedented disaster resulted in a renewal of Byzantine activity. The Byzantines used diplomatic ways to prevent the Arabs of the various states of the eastern Mediterranean from operating jointly together. They were willing to take on each Arab power separately, so the possibility of a successful outcome would be increased. Moreover, the *Logothete* Himerios who had failed to confront Leo of Tripoli in 904, managed to defeat the Syrian fleet during a battle in the Aegean and he also managed to land on Cyprus and inflicted a massacre on the Arabs there. Using Cyprus as a base, he attacked the Syrian coast and destroyed Laodicea in 910. This success encouraged the Byzantines to prepare a new expedition against Crete under Himerios. The expedition took off in the summer of 911 and lasted for eight months, until April or May of 912. Himerios failed to capture Crete and had to set sail for Constantinople; on the way he was defeated off the island of Chios by Leo of Tripoli.⁵⁶

No attempts to reconquer Crete were made during the reign of Romanos Lecapenos (920-944) who had as his only aim to guard the coasts and parry the Arabic raids as long as circumstances would permit. In the *Life* of Saint Luke the holy man discouraged Romanos from organising an expedition against Crete as Luke had predicted the reconquest of Crete by Romanos II; this of course should be regarded as a legendary invention.⁵⁷

An expedition was launched in 949 under the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitos (945-959). The preparations for this

⁵⁴ Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 48-49. Sometime during the reign of Basil I the Byzantines managed to regain total control of the island of Cyprus which was in a tributary relation with the Arabs. For Cyprus and its "special" situation between the Byzantines and the Arabs, see Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 168-172, and Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 50.

⁵⁵ The main source for the sack of Thessaloniki is the account by Ioannes Caminiates, see G. Böhlig, ed., *Ioannis Caminiatae, De expugnatione Thessalonicae*, Berlin 1973.

⁵⁶ Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 49-55.

⁵⁷ Carolyn L. & W. Robert Connor, eds., *The Life & Miracles of Saint Luke*, Brookline, Massachusetts 1994, 98 (§60).

expedition are described in *De Cerimoniis*.⁵⁸ Despite the care given to the expedition and its military forces, it had an unfortunate end. The commander-in-chief, Constantine Gongyles, proved to be ignorant of military affairs, made many mistakes and the Arabs having realised the Byzantines' incompetence, defeated them once again.⁵⁹

Within the general context of continuous and intense warfare between the Byzantines and the Arabs, the element of raiding also appears as part of the Arabs' military tactics. These raids, which were very successful especially in the period from the conquest of Crete until about the year 932⁶⁰, should not be considered as aimless raids for destruction and looting; they formed part of a war of attrition and attempts by the Arabs to establish their position in the area of the eastern Mediterranean. One of the main aims of these raids was to capture prisoners in order to exchange them later with captives of the Byzantines; the practice of ἀλλάγια (exchange of prisoners) was quite widespread between the Byzantines and the Arabs and is mentioned in various sources.⁶¹

Crete was a naval base for Arab raids against other islands and the coasts of the Byzantine empire. However, the recorded raids were not only carried out by the Arabs of Crete, but also by Arabs of other areas like North Africa and Syria. The problem is that it is difficult to distinguish which Arabs are responsible for these raids, as their specific location and origin is not given in the sources. References for Arab raids against other areas of the Byzantine empire during the period of the Arab occupation of Crete appear not only in the Byzantine historiographers but also in

⁵⁸ J. J. Reiske, ed., *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris, De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, vol. 1, Bonn 1829-30, 664-678; see also Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 57, n. 141. On this expedition, John Haldon, "Book II, chapters 44 and 45 of the *Book of Ceremonies*. Theory and Practice in Tenth-Century Military Administration", *Travaux et Mémoires* (forthcoming).

⁵⁹ Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 57-58.

⁶⁰ This specific year (932) is given by a contemporary Arabic source which claims that the Muslim navy started to decline during this period of time; see Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 157, n. 1.

⁶¹ On the eastern frontier, the confrontation between the Byzantine and Arab worlds and the military attitudes, see Hugh Kennedy, "Byzantine-Arab diplomacy in the Near East from the Islamic conquests to the mid eleventh century", *Byzantine Diplomacy (Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990)*, London 1992, 133-143. For the practice of ἀλλάγια, cf. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 51.

various *Saints' Lives* ⁶², like the *Life* of Saint Athanasia of Aegina⁶³, the *Life* of Saint Theodora of Thessaloniki⁶⁴ and the *Life* of Saint Luke the Younger⁶⁵.

d. The reconquest of Crete by the Byzantines (961)⁶⁶

The endless efforts of the Byzantines to reconquer Crete and their successive failures, besides the offensive raids of the Arabs which caused Byzantium great troubles, created many myths and legends regarding Crete and its recapture by the Byzantines. The first myth concerned the prediction by Saint Luke that Crete would be reconquered by the Byzantines during the reign of a certain Romanos. The second legend is found in the *Life* of Saint Paul the Younger⁶⁷ which claims that Constantine Porphyrogenitos wrote to the Saint before the expedition of 949 and asked him about its success. Saint Paul replied to the emperor and tried to dissuade him saying that the expedition was not "in God's mind"; and it is known that the expedition had an unsuccessful end. The third legend

⁶² Scholars have interpreted these references in different ways. For the Arab raids during the period of Crete's occupation by the Arabs, see Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 157-168, where relevant bibliography and sources are available; in this section the author deals with the Muslim raids from Crete and other areas like North Africa and Syria, and temporary and permanent conquests by the Muslims of Crete. For the same subject and other theories constructed about it, see Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 43-45 where the author disagrees with Christides' arguments.

⁶³ Lydia Carras, ed., "The Life of St Athanasia of Aegina; a critical edition with introduction", *MAISTOR. Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning*, Canberra 1984, 199-224; however, the raid recorded in this *Life* was by African Muslims; cf. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 158.

⁶⁴ E. Kurtz, ed., *Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der hl. Theodora von Thessalonich*, St. Petersburg 1902, 1-70, esp. 3-4; cf. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 166; however, there is no clear indication of the provenance of the Arabs who attacked the island of Aegina, the birthplace of Theodora.

⁶⁵ Connor, *The Life & Miracles of Saint Luke*, 4 (§2); cf. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 166; as in the case of the *Life* of Saint Theodora of Thessaloniki, there is no clear indication about the provenance of the Arabs who attacked the island of Aegina, the birthplace of the ancestors of Saint Luke the Younger.

⁶⁶ Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 172ff. and especially note 102 for relevant bibliography on the reconquest of Crete by Nikephoros Phokas; Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 58-74.

⁶⁷ H. Delehaye, "Vita S. Pauli iunioris, monachi in monte Latro", *Analecta Bollandiana* 11 (1892), 5-74 and 136-181, esp. 71-72.

referred to the widespread prediction that whoever retook Crete was to become Byzantine emperor.⁶⁸

Numerous Byzantine and Arabic sources deal with the reconquest of Crete, an event of great importance for both sides. Many Arabic sources mainly insist on the repercussions it had on the Arab world and on the reprisals of the Arabs against Christian populations, especially in Egypt.⁶⁹

It was the son of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, Romanos II (959-963), who decided to plan a new expedition against Crete at the instigation of the *parakoimomenos* Joseph Bringas.⁷⁰ At first, the idea was regarded with great fear and was considered hazardous and risky by the senate; the Byzantines could not forget the previous operations to reconquer the island, the money that had been spent and the men who had lost their lives. Despite all these justifiable fears, after a speech of Joseph Bringas, who managed to persuade the senate of the value of such an operation, the preparations started and Nikephoros Phokas, who then was Domestic of the Schools of the East, was appointed commander-in-chief of the expedition.⁷¹

With military forces greater than the ones used in previous operations, Nikephoros Phokas departed for Crete from Phygela on the Lydian coast south of Ephesos, the usual point of departure for operations of this kind. Phokas reached Crete in July 960 but sources give contradictory information about what happened upon his landing on the island; some speak of Phokas' arrival on the island without facing any resistance and others speak of a battle

⁶⁸ For the myths and legends regarding Crete and its recapture by the Byzantines, see Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 58-59.

⁶⁹ For the Byzantine and Arabic sources referring to the recapture of Crete, see Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 172-191, and Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 59-61. For a reappraisal of the sources regarding the expedition of 961 and the reconquest of Crete, and for additional bibliography, see A. Markopoulos, "Νέα στοιχεία για την έκστρατεία του Νικηφόρου Φωκά στην Κρήτη (961)", *Βυζαντινά* 13/2 (1985), 1061-7; in this article Markopoulos examines the sources that refer to the preparation of the expedition, the expedition itself and finally the reconquest of the island of Crete.

⁷⁰ All sources agree on Bringas' role in the 961 expedition; however, it was Vassilios Lecapenos who was the instigator of this expedition; see A. Markopoulos, "'Ιωσήφ Βρίγγας. Προσωπογραφικά προβλήματα καὶ ἰδεολογικά ρεύματα", *Σύμμεικτα* 4 (1981), 87-115, esp. 97-98.

⁷¹ Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 61-62.

taking place immediately after his arrival which turned to be victorious for the Byzantines.⁷²

Nikephoros Phokas proved to be the most appropriate person for the position of the commander-in-chief of this expedition. He was an expert in military affairs, a feature also proved by his subsequent military successes such as the successful expedition to Aleppo in 963. He managed to handle the situation in the island in such a way that led to its recapture in less than a year (13 July 960-7 March 961).

When the Arabs of Crete came to face the Byzantine fleet, they must have been taken by surprise as they were not expecting such an operation after the failures of the past.⁷³ As a total blockade of Crete by the Byzantines was impossible due to the island's size, the Arabs managed to maintain communication with Arabs of other places such as Egypt, Syria and Northern Africa, from whom they also sought help; however, there is no evidence that help ever reached them from other parts of the Arab world. Certain Arabic sources though, provide information on fugitives from Crete who reached Egypt, Sicily and Spain.⁷⁴

In general terms, Nikephoros Phokas' military forces were successful in their operations in the countryside, apart from the defeat of a Byzantine force led by the *strategos* of the Thrakesion theme, Nikephoros Pastilas.⁷⁵ The city of Chandax, however, proved really difficult to besiege. Chandax was the last part of the island to surrender and the prolonged siege that Phokas decided to carry out throughout the extremely severe winter of 960-961 exhausted not only the Arabs but also the Byzantine troops. According to sources, Phokas, a deeply religious person who wanted to take monastic vows, was in close contact with Athanasios the Athonite, whom he

⁷² Regarding the military forces of this expedition and the information from different sources, as well as for the route that the Byzantine fleet followed to reach Crete, and on the events upon Phokas' arrival on Crete, see Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 62-65 where additional bibliography and relevant sources are available. See also Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 172ff.; for the preparation of the expedition, see Markopoulos, "Νέα στοιχεία για την έκστρατεία του Νικηφόρου Φωκά στην Κρήτη (961)", 1062-1066.

⁷³ Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 177, has a different view; he believes that the Arabs' "intelligence was competent and their vigilance perpetual" so that they would have been "ready to resist with their usual determination".

⁷⁴ Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 66, n. 184.

⁷⁵ Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 182, n. 147.

later helped in the foundation of the Great Lavra. During the difficult period of the siege of Chandax, Phokas invited Athanasios to Crete to come and talk to his soldiers trying to strengthen their faith.⁷⁶ This invitation indicates the importance of faith for Phokas but also his anxiety at not maintaining the siege due to his soldiers' fatigue and faint-heartedness. Eventually, after encouraging his men and receiving additional supplies from Constantinople, Phokas managed to bring famine and desperation to the besieged Arabs. The fall of Chandax took place on 7th March 961.⁷⁷

Nikephoros Phokas returned to Constantinople together with the booty and captives from Crete where he was received by the emperor Romanos II and a triumphal procession took place. A second triumph for the Byzantine empire followed two years later, the successful expedition to Aleppo in 963, which made Nikephoros Phokas synonymous with the victory, and confirmed the significance of his name.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ The main sources for the relations of Phokas and Athanasios are the two *Lives* of Athanasios whose interdependence is not yet resolved; see J. Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, Turnhout Brepols 1982 (Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca 9); see also O. Lampsides, ed., "Μία παραλλαγή της βιογραφίας 'Αγίου' Αθανασίου του 'Αθωνίτου", *Βυζαντινά* 6 (1974), 283-319. For the invitation of Athanasios by Phokas during the siege of Chandax, see Noret, *Vitae duae antiquae sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, 34-5 (Vita A).

In November 1999 during the International Symposium "Heroes of the Orthodox Church: The New Saints, 8th-16th Centuries" that was held at the National Hellenic Research Foundation in Athens, Greece, and was organised by the Institute for Byzantine Research, Konstantinos Manaphes announced that he tracked down another version of the *Life* of Athanasios in a manuscript of the Sinai monastery dated to the beginning of the 11th century (forthcoming article in the *Proceedings* of the symposium).

⁷⁷ For Nikephoros Phokas and his military activities in Crete's expedition and for the Arabs' reactions, see Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 65-72, where additional bibliography and relevant sources are available. For the exact date of the reconquest of Crete (6th or 7th March 961), see Markopoulos, "Νέα στοιχεία για την έκστρατεία του Νικηφόρου Φωκά στην Κρήτη (961)", 1066-7.

⁷⁸ Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 73-74.

2. Coexistence of Byzantines and Arabs during the Arab occupation of Crete ⁷⁹

The conquest of Crete by the Arabs and the occupation of the island for about 135 years did not bring complete annihilation of the indigenous population or forceful Islamisation as previous theories have claimed.⁸⁰ The idea that missionaries like Nikon Metanoieite were sent to reconvert Cretans to Christianity after the recapture of the island by Nikephoros Phokas, is now considered biased and exaggerated.⁸¹ The sources for the period of the Arab occupation in Crete are scarce but archaeological evidence and also comparisons with other places occupied by the Arabs, like Spain and Palestine, may help us to reconstruct the situation in Crete and relations between the Cretans and their Arab conquerors.

Regarding the coexistence of the Arabs and the Cretans one should have in mind two factors; that the Arabs who conquered Crete were Muslims who observed Islamic law in all aspects of their lives and in their relations with the Christian indigenous population; and that the Arabs who conquered Crete were people who were trying to find a place to settle after their expulsion from Egypt; they were not conquerors seeking only booty and captives.⁸²

The Koran distinguishes Christians, Jews, Sabians and Zoroastrians from pagans, and characterises them as the "People of

⁷⁹ The period of the Arab occupation of Crete has not been studied thoroughly by scholars; the main reason might be the lack of sources. Christides deals with this period in his previously mentioned book and especially its chapter "Natives and Muslims in Crete" (chapter iv). Due to the lack of sources regarding Crete under the Arab occupation, Christides based his work on sources regarding other areas that were occupied by Arabs as well; he used Arabic sources together with the Byzantine ones thoroughly. His knowledge of Islamic law and Islamic patterns of life is worth mentioning; however, quite often his theories regarding the Arabs seem biased and his arguments should be regarded with extra care.

⁸⁰ For previous theories and a discussion, see Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 104-105 and passim.

⁸¹ For the personality and the activities of Nikon Metanoieite, see next section "The period after the reconquest of the island: the resurgence of Christianity in Crete".

⁸² However, the practice of raiding other areas of the Byzantine empire like the Aegean coasts and the Peloponnese was common and frequent. Through this practice, the Arabs wanted to consolidate their position and authority in the area. The captives that were taken by them were being used for ἀλλάγια, exchange of captives between the Arabs and the Byzantines during their numerous conflicts.

the Book", i.e. communities to whom God's prophets had revealed Divine Scripture; consequently, these communities would be treated by Muslims in a different and more tolerant way than other communities. The Christian populations of Syria, Palestine and Egypt and especially the Christians that surrounded the monks of Mount Sinai, the White monastery on the Nile and Mar Sabas near Jerusalem, had maintained their Christian faith through the Muslim occupation and continued to live on and even influence the Islamic environment. On many occasions the Arabs proved to be open to Byzantine influences. Sources regarding the Christian communities in Palestine show that the Muslims had taken some discriminatory measures against Christians but these measures were quite limited. For example, Christians were prohibited from building new churches but repairing and rebuilding old ones was allowed; Christians were also prohibited from holding loud services, beating wood clappers or ringing bells to summon the faithful to worship, riding horses with saddles, wearing the same clothes as Muslims; the public display of crosses was also prohibited.⁸³

Urbanisation is a prominent characteristic of Islam and the typical pattern in Islamic conquest is the concentration of the Muslim invaders in the cities and from there their gradual penetration into the countryside. Regarding the Cretan towns at the time of the conquest the sources available are the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, lists of ecclesiastical dioceses arranged in hierarchical order, and the *Acts of the Ecumenical Councils* in which the attendance of the bishops is recorded; unfortunately, seals of officials with inscriptions denoting the town for which they were responsible, are not preserved.⁸⁴ In the period before the Arab conquest, Crete appears to have had twelve main cities that served as episcopal sees, as clearly appears especially in the *Acts* of the 7th Ecumenical Council of 787 (see table 1). Consequently, the Arabs should have settled in the towns and established them as their centres of commercial and also military activities. Arab

⁸³ Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, 300 and note 10, 324 and note 57, 463; R. Schick, *The Christian communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule*, Princeton, New Jersey 1995, esp. 159-167.

⁸⁴ There is only one ecclesiastical seal of the 8th century of the church of Kissamos; see Tsougarakis, "The Byzantine Seals of Crete", catalogue no. 5.



sources⁸⁵ refer to the existence of many towns and villages in Crete which was considered a populous island.⁸⁶ The available sources however do not provide us with information on the way the local townspeople continued to live and coexist with the invaders. There is no doubt that the Cretans who lived in the towns would have been closer to the Muslims than the people living in the countryside. The two populations would have lived in different quarters within the towns and would have had more obvious influence between themselves than in the provinces.⁸⁷

The theory that many mixed marriages occurred between conquerors and natives is not accepted anymore as no sources refer to it. Although Byzantine sources like Genesios⁸⁸ refer to the Arabs as being encouraged by their leader Abu-Hafs to marry native women upon their landing on Crete, it is now believed that the Arabs came along with their wives and families, as they did not want to leave them behind and did not intend to get involved with native women.⁸⁹ "The Arabic tradition of blood relationship and tribal solidarity was too strong" and "intramarriage was the norm" as Christides says. Of course, this did not prohibit mixed marriages though this was the exception to the rule. In the Arab conquests in general, the assimilation between the Muslim conquerors and the indigenous population happened gradually and at a slow pace; this should be regarded as a matter of course and inevitable and probably remained on a small scale.

Following traditional Islamic patterns the Arabs did not get involved in any systematic destruction or burning of churches. Of course, some Christian monuments may have been neglected and abandoned due to shifts in population. The conquest probably also affected episcopal seats, like the metropolitan seat of Sybritos which disappeared during the Muslim occupation of Crete; from the 10th century onwards the seat of Arion or Agrion takes its place⁹⁰.

⁸⁵ namely Yaquṭ; see Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 107, n. 67.

⁸⁶ Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 99.

⁸⁷ Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 107-108.

⁸⁸ See A. Lesmüller-Werner and I. Thurn, eds., *Iosephii Genesii Regum libri quattuor*, Berlin-New York 1978, 34.6-8.

⁸⁹ Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 105-106 and notes 57, 58, 59; Christides also says that the Arabs came to Crete "along with their wives as the Arab sources clearly indicate"; however, he does not name these sources.

⁹⁰ See entry on *Arion* in Commentary.

Certain persecutions and discriminatory measures might have been taken by the Arabs but these were exceptions to a general practice of tolerance.⁹¹ Some Christians, especially in the towns where contacts between the conquered Christians and the conquerors were daily and continuous, might have converted to Islam and been influenced both in language and habits, but this should be regarded as natural. The bulk of the indigenous population of Crete would have continued to speak Greek and preserved its Orthodox Christian faith. The Muslims of Crete had no reason to impose any unnecessarily oppressive measures on the native population as they wanted to avoid rebellions and their main concern would have been the collection of taxes.⁹²

Crete was a very fertile island which was a source of wealth to those who were engaged in the cultivation of land and agricultural production. The Arabs seem to have been aware of that and they wanted to take advantage of the trade in agricultural products between Crete and other Muslim states. The conquerors of Crete were townspeople who were not so experienced in the cultivation of land⁹³, a factor that should have worked to the benefit of the Cretan population involved with agriculture. Despite the absence of such statements in the surviving sources, by comparison with the situation in other Arab-occupied countries such as Egypt, where the natives retained their land and privileges,⁹⁴ we can assume that this happened in Crete as well. Moreover, the absence of revolts by the Cretans (who were very keen on such actions during all the periods of the island's history) might imply a lack of heavy taxation imposed on the indigenous population. Constant war preparation that kept the Arabs engaged, must have constituted an important factor that permitted the Cretans to cultivate their land with no additional problems, such as confiscation by the Arabs. To conclude, regarding the Cretan population involved in agriculture, we should say that the conquerors' main concern would have been a) the regular tax

⁹¹ There is no evidence of such actions but comparisons with other places occupied by Arabs like Palestine, might indicate this possibility.

⁹² Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 108ff.

⁹³ See above, "The Arab conquest of Crete" for the conquerors coming from Andalusia and being townspeople.

⁹⁴ Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 106, n. 64b.

collection with no problems or revolts, b) the cultivation of the land mainly by the indigenous population as the Arabs themselves were townspeople, not well prepared for agricultural activities, and c) the sufficiency of agricultural products not only for the population of the island but also for trading these products between Crete and other Muslim states.⁹⁵

The Arabs' attitudes towards the Cretans regarding their occupation with agricultural production, together with the Arabs' mode of life regarding marriage and creation of family, their preference for urban life and their general practice of tolerance regarding religion, allow us to assume that the indigenous population of the island of Crete would have been treated by the Arabs in the same way as other Christian populations conquered in other places. In the case of Crete, as elsewhere, the Arabs had neither decimated nor forcibly converted to Islam the Cretan population, as this would have been against both their religion and their economic interests.

⁹⁵ For the Arabs of Crete and their agricultural activities, see Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 106-107.

3. The period after the reconquest of the island: the resurgence of Christianity in Crete

The fall of Crete had considerable repercussions on the Arab world. Sources give detailed information about Egypt where riots broke out, Christian churches and monuments were destroyed and many Christians were killed in revenge for the slaughter of the Muslims in Crete.⁹⁶ After the prolonged siege of the city of Chandax, Christian reprisals might have been expected and Byzantine sources refer to the massacres that followed the fall of the city;⁹⁷ its inhabitants certainly suffered most compared to the other inhabitants of the island.⁹⁸ Many Muslims had already left the island as fugitives during the siege and many more would have been led away as captives after the fall. A considerable number though would have remained on the island but there is no mention in the subsequent sources about Arabs living on Crete. One could assume that they gradually became Christians and were assimilated to the rest of the Christian population.⁹⁹

After the successful operation in Crete and before returning to Constantinople, Nikephoros Phokas constructed a new fortress on a steep hill south of Chandax, called Temenos, which was well preserved until the 17th century. It was intended to become the new capital and replace Chandax, but the old town of Chandax soon revived and remained the main capital of the island. The walls of the Arab fortress were never completely abandoned and they actually became the base for the later Venetian walls of the island's

⁹⁶ Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 74, note 215 for sources.

⁹⁷ These sources include Leo Diakonos (C. B. Hase, ed., *Historiae libri X*, Bonn 1828, 24.9-27.24), Theodosios Diakonos (N. M. Panagiotakes, *Θεοδόσιος ὁ Διάκονος καὶ τὸ ποίημα αὐτοῦ "Ἀλωσις τῆς Κρήτης"*, Heraklion Crete 1960, v, 85-108 and H. Criscuolo, ed., *Theodosius Diaconus, De Creta Capta*, Leipzig 1979, v, 1002-1025), Theophanes Continuatus (*Theophanes Continuatus*, 481. 1-12) and Pseudo-Symeon (*Theophanes Continuatus*, 759.9-11); cf. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 72.

⁹⁸ Leo Diakonos says that Phokas tried to restrain his men from killing the Muslim soldiers who surrendered (καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὴν ὀρμὴν ἀνετείχιζε, μὴ κτείνειν ἀναπείθων τοὺς τὰ ὄπλα ῥίψαντας ἄνδρας; *Historiae libri*, 26.23ff.); cf. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 182, n. 154. In addition to this source, Theodosios Diakonos in his poem *The Fall of Crete* says that Nikephoros Phokas prohibited the rape of any Muslim women (καὶ τοῦτο τῆς σῆς προσταγῆς, σκηπτροκράτορ, μὴ πρὸς γυναῖκας πορνικῶς καθυβρίσαι; ed. Panagiotakes, v, 105-6; ed. Criscuolo, v, 1022-23).

⁹⁹ Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 74-75.

capital.¹⁰⁰ Nikephoros Phokas also tried to secure the island's future and organise its defences by locating military forces on it; the soldiers settled there must have been given land holdings on which to live and thus they later formed the new landed aristocracy of the island.¹⁰¹

The poem of Theodosios Diakonos, *The Capture of Crete* (written in 962/3), considers Nikephoros Phokas as the saviour of the island. Michael Attaleiates in his *History* mentions that after the island's reconquest Phokas and his army built a church dedicated to Theotokos in three days; he also says that Phokas' own picture was painted inside this church which was called "of the magister" (τοῦ μαγίστρου) and which was seen by Attaleiates himself when he visited the island.¹⁰² However, it has been pointed out by Grégoire that what Attaleiates saw was probably the church where Sergios Niketiates had been buried. Niketiates had been canonised and his icon might have been painted in the church after the reconquest of Crete.¹⁰³ So it was probably not a portrait of Phokas.

The reconquest of Crete brought the Byzantine empire into a new situation regarding its relationship with the island. The Christian population of Crete that had been secluded from the main nucleus of the empire for approximately 135 years, had to be restored to the Christian framework of the empire; the Arabs who remained in Crete had to be incorporated into the new social and religious conditions; and finally the island of Crete had to join the administrative and ecclesiastical organisation of the empire. Since the main concerns of the Arab conquerors were productivity, tax collection and peaceful coexistence with the conquered Christians, this allowed the indigenous population more or less to preserve its ethnic identity and religion. Thus, we can assume that the Byzantine empire was not facing the total re-christianisation of the

¹⁰⁰ *Historiae libri*, 27.24-28.8; for the walls of Chandax, see N. Platon, "Νέα στοιχεία διὰ τὴν μελέτην τῶν Βυζαντινῶν τειχῶν τοῦ Χάνδακος", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 6 (1952), 439-459, esp. 457-458.

¹⁰¹ καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐξημερώσας ἅπασαν, Ἀρμενίων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ συγκλύδων ἀνδρῶν φατρίας ἐνοικισάμενος, καὶ πυρφόρους τριήρεις ἐς φυλακὴν ταύτης καταλιπὼν (*Historiae libri*, 28.8-11); cf. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 73.

¹⁰² I. Bekker, ed., *Michaelis Attaliothae Historia*, Bonn 1853, 226.1-5, 228.11-16.

¹⁰³ H. Grégoire, "Études sur le neuvième siècle", *Byzantion* 8 (1933), 515-531, esp. 528-30. On Nikephoros Phokas and his portrayal in churches, cf. also Rosemary Morris, "The two faces of Nikephoros Phokas", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988), 83-115, esp. 107-108.

Cretan population. Its main concerns would have been the strengthening of the ties between the Church of Crete and the Patriarchate and the resurgence of orthodoxy in the island.

Indirect sources provide us with the impression that the period which followed the recapture of Crete, was a quiet but creative period with no dramatic changes or events. Administrative and military organisation which took place, had as its main aim the safety of the island and the strengthening of its ties to Constantinople. Immediately after its reconquest Crete became a *thema* with a *strategos* and subordinate officials, as sigillographic evidence and the *Taktikon of Escorial* (971-975), a Byzantine administrative list, testify.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, a division of one thousand infantry soldiers (ταξιαρχία) was recruited and stationed on the island with its separate commander (ταξιάρχης).¹⁰⁵ Preserved ecclesiastical seals dated to the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th century¹⁰⁶ together with the *Notitia* 10 (10th-11th century) in which Crete is ranked 30th with ten suffragan bishoprics (see table 1)¹⁰⁷, show that the ecclesiastical structure was quickly re-established after 961.

The reconquest of Crete made the island the centre of interest in contemporary Byzantine sources in which the importance of such an event for the Byzantine empire is stressed. However, for more than a century sources which mention Crete, especially social and economic activities in the island, are scarce, apart from the above mentioned administrative and ecclesiastical lists. It is particularly noticeable that there is no specific mention of imperial activities or initiatives for the island by Phokas who was so supportive of monasticism. Constantinople though appears always eager to support and confirm the religious work of independent persons whose actions are recorded in hagiographical sources. These sources by their very nature do not provide information about organised

¹⁰⁴ Oikonomides, *Listes*, 265.27; for seals of *strategoi* and other administrative officials, see Tsougarakis, "The Byzantine Seals of Crete", esp. 150-2.

¹⁰⁵ N. Oikonomides, "'Ο ταξιάρχης Κρήτης", *Αριάδνη* 5 (1989), 119-124.

¹⁰⁶ For the ecclesiastical seals of Crete, see Tsougarakis, "The Byzantine Seals of Crete", esp. 145-6.

¹⁰⁷ Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatum*, 95-117; there is a recensio b of the same *Notitia* where Crete is ranked 51st and is said to have no suffragan bishoprics (ΝΑ' ὁ Κρήτης τούτω θρόνος ὑποκείμενος οὐκ ἔστιν); for the value of this *Notitia*, see Darrouzès, *Notitiae Episcopatum*, 109.

Christianisation but rather they record such religious activities as being due to the will of God.¹⁰⁸

The *Lives* of two important religious figures, Nikon *Metanoeite* ("Repent!") and Ioannes Xenos, can now be placed in the context of strengthening Christianity on the island. These two *Lives* are the only extant literary sources that refer to the island of Crete for the period after 961. A short reference to Crete is contained in Nikon's *Life* while the *Life* of Xenos exclusively refers to the island. The *Lives* describe the impact that the activities of these two monastic figures had on the population of the island who followed them, listened to their teaching and helped in their activities.

Nikon *Metanoeite* was born in the district of Pontus Polemoniacus, Armeniakon, ca. 930 and started his monastic life there. As his *Life*¹⁰⁹ records, Nikon went to Crete after the reconquest of the island by Nikephoros Phokas. According to the *Life* Nikephoros Phokas was "an emperor of blessed memory" (20. 8: Νικηφόρου τοῦ αἰδίδιμου βασιλέως) who "had great glory through his pious life and concern with virtue" (20. 9-10: μέγα τὸ κλέος ἐπὶ τε βίου σεμνότητι καὶ ἀρετῇς ἐπιμελείᾳ). When Nikon visited Crete, the island "still bore traces of the vile superstition of the Agarenes, since its inhabitants, by time and long fellowship with the Saracens were led astray to their customs and foul and unhallowed rites" (20. 12-16: ἔτι δὲ λείψανα φερούση τῆς μιαρᾶς τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν κακοπιστίας, ἐπειδὴ ἦσαν οἱ ταύτης οἰκήτορες, τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ μακρᾷ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ξυναυλία, οἱμοι, συναπαχθέντες, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἤθεσι καὶ ὀργίοις τοῖς μυσαρκοῖς καὶ βεβήλοις). Realising the situation and despite the difficulties he had to face Nikon started teaching repentance; but the Cretans who had converted to Islam according to the *Life*, did not accept his teaching at once; at first they "violently opposed the just man" (20. 19: σφοδρῶς ἐπανεστήσαν τῷ δικαίῳ). Later the inhabitants of the island (called ἐγχώριοι in the *Life*) all accepted him, helped him in his work, especially in the building of a church, and made known his deeds all over the island. According to the *Life* Nikon "built many

¹⁰⁸ e.g. in the *Life of Nikon Metanoeite* the Saint was sent to Crete to teach repentance by God (ἐν τῇ τῆς Κρήτης νήσῳ ἔγνω δεῖν ἀποπλεῖν. Θεία γάρ τις νεῦσις ἐκάλει πρὸς τοῦτο); see Denis F. Sullivan, ed., *The Life of Saint Nikon*, Brookline, Massachusetts 1987, 82.4-6.

¹⁰⁹ Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon*; for Nikon's visit to Crete, see pages 82-89, (§ 20-21).

churches over all the island and created priests and deacons and church-guardians and other officials; he organised them and told them how to live" (21. 4-7: ἐκκλησίας τε δεινόμενος ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ νήσῳ οὐκ ὀλίγας καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ διακόνους καὶ νεωκόρους καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τάξιν πᾶσαν ἐγκαταστήσας καὶ ῥυθμίσας καὶ ὡς δεῖ βιοῦν ἐπισκήψας) and after five years having completed his work, he left. The *Life of Nikon* written in 1042 by an anonymous abbot in Sparta, reveals that the situation in Crete was known in the empire, the Agarenes were regarded as "bad elements" and the need for the resurgence of orthodoxy was obvious. References to the Arabs and their horrible customs, as well as to the conversion of some Cretans to Islam, might be regarded as exaggerations, necessary only to show the effectiveness of Nikon's teaching. They should also be placed and examined within the context of the literary genre of a *Saint's Life* which makes use of such exaggerations in order to praise the Saint's deeds and abilities. Even if conversion of some Christians to Islam had taken place, it probably would not have been on a large scale. Moreover, the reference of the building of many churches on the island and the ecclesiastical organisation attributed to Nikon (21. 4-7 [as above]; and 21. 49-50: καὶ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν τάξιν τε καὶ κατάστασιν αὐτοῖς παραδοῦς καὶ πᾶσι συνταξάμενος), should be regarded with some circumspection. No churches built by Nikon have been identified in Crete and no other sources testify their building and existence. It seems that the author of the *Life* made such references and added such information in order to praise and strengthen the work of the holy man on the island. At this point it is worth mentioning that no depictions of Nikon exist in churches of Crete, fact quite strange that might even make the trip and presence of Nikon in Crete questionable.

The second figure apart from Nikon Metanoieite who makes an appearance after 961, is Ioannes Xenos. A deeply religious person who was longing for a solitary existence from the very beginning of his life, Ioannes Xenos was born in Crete. Following his will to reach God, he wandered around Crete, founded eight monastic establishments, ordained monks and acquired various properties for these foundations. Ioannes Xenos also organised the life around these monastic establishments by acquiring land and draught animals, constructing cisterns when the area was dry, planting

trees, vineyards and gardens, constructing buildings with roof-tiles for the monks "to have for their rest", collecting bees and making beehives, acquiring clothes, books and icons for the monks and also household goods like jars, vessels and trays. Even when he wanted to be alone and pray, he accepted the people who followed him and insisted on helping him in various ways; by donating pieces of land and helping him in his agricultural and building activities, i.e. construction and maintenance of the monastic foundations. The presence of these anonymous people who are called φιλόχριστοι (Christ-loving), reveals a pious flock full of energy and religious zeal. In about 1025 Xenos decided to go to Constantinople and ask from the imperial and ecclesiastical authorities privileges for his monastic foundations. It does not seem that he faced any difficulties since he managed to acquire a chrysobull and he also ensured that the monastic foundations he established would be independent and protected from any imperial or ecclesiastical authority as well as from individuals who might want to threaten the foundations' independence and properties. This may be seen as an indication of the Byzantine empire's will to strengthen and establish the religious status in Crete with imperial documents and other privileges.

Apart from the reference to Crete in the *Life of Nikon Metanoieite*, the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* is the only literary text we have for the period just after the reconquest of Crete and provides a lot of information especially about orthodoxy in Crete and the close connections of the island and Constantinople. Moreover, it reveals the need and also the wholehearted response of simple anonymous people (φιλόχριστοι) to participate in religious activities such as the building of churches and the well being of monastic foundations.

The absence of other literary sources for the period after the reconquest of Crete makes the text of Ioannes Xenos of crucial importance for this period of the island's history.

Chapter two

Ioannes Xenos as a founder of monastic establishments

Ioannes Xenos as a founder of monastic establishments

After 961 the administrative and ecclesiastical organisation of the island of Crete was quickly re-established. The main aim of the Byzantine empire in relation to the religious situation of the island was the strengthening of the ties between the Church of Crete and the Patriarchate and the resurgence of Christianity in the island.

During the Arab occupation of the island the Cretan population does not seem to have been decimated or forcibly converted to Islam. Churches may not have been destroyed by the Arabs but new ones were not built either; religious feasts were not celebrated the way they used to. Moreover, Christian monuments would have been neglected and abandoned due to shifts of population.

The reconquest of Crete by the Byzantines provided the orthodox inhabitants of Crete with a new context, in which they could realise all their activities, interests and religious needs.

In this new Christian context Ioannes Xenos starts establishing monastic foundations and organising life around them. It is worth examining the way Xenos interacted in this new context, and to what extent his *Life* helps in defining the connections and the relations between him and this environment.

In the *Life of Xenos* there are no specific references to administrative or ecclesiastical officials, although the existence of such officials is confirmed by administrative seals, the *Taktikon of Escorial*, and *Notitiae* (especially *Notitia* 10), and also by the presence of a ταξιαρχία that testifies the presence of military officials in the island. The *Life of Xenos* refers once to archons and bishops (l. 104: οἱ τε ἄρχοντες, ἐπίσκοποι), when Xenos says that these persons, together with the *philochristoi*, the anonymous devout people, donated to his monastic foundations animals, sacred vessels and other goods. This reference definitely implies the participation, and not just the tolerance, of official administrators (archons) and ecclesiastical authorities (bishops) in Xenos' activities. These imperial officials on the island must have been aware of Xenos' activities and of the people's response to his teaching. Building all these churches and organising monastic foundations could not have

passed unnoticed. There must have been connections between Xenos and representatives of the official church hierarchy.

Xenos should have asked for permission for the building of churches and the foundation of monastic communities from the bishop of the area as the ecclesiastical canons demanded¹. Moreover, to provide priests for his monasteries he needed the assistance of the bishop of the area to perform their ordination.² However, these matters are not recorded in his *Life*. This lack of information should be listed among the other narration gaps that exist in the *Life*; these gaps have to do with the nature of the text and the conditions under which it was composed.³

Consultations probably took place prior to the journey of Xenos to Constantinople for the acquisition of the chrysobull and the privileges. Sources provide information about a certain metropolitan named Stephen who must have been contemporary of Ioannes Xenos. In the *Synodikon* of Sybrita⁴ a metropolitan Stephen appears in position number 3. He is known to have signed some synodical acts with Patriarch Alexios the Studite (1025-1043) between 1027 and 1030.⁵ Because of this activity, a seal bearing the name Stephen and dating from the 11th century has been attributed to him.⁶ Another seal, but with the same name and title and also dating from the 11th century must have belonged to the same person.⁷ Patriarch Alexios with whom metropolitan Stephen

¹ *Canon 4* of the Council of Chalcedon (451); cf. Périclès-Pierre Joannou, *Discipline generale antique (II^e-IX^e s.)*. *Les canons des conciles oecuméniques*, vol. 1.1, Rome 1962, 72-74.

² The ordination of a priest requires episcopal presence. In ll. 64 and 71 of the *Life* Xenos refers to the priests of his monastic establishments without mentioning bishops.

³ See Chapter 3. 2.

⁴ The *Synodikon* of Sybrita, an ecclesiastical document dated to the 12th-13th century, lists the bishops of Sybrita, a bishopric of Crete, and also the metropolitans of Crete between 961 and 1204; cf. V. Laurent, "Le synodicon de Sybrita et les métropolitans de Crète aux X^e-XIII^e siècles", *Échos d'Orient* 32 (1933), 385-412.

⁵ *PG* 119, 827A-844D, esp. 837B and 844C; cf. D. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete. From the 5th century to the Venetian Conquest*, Athens 1988, 214.

⁶ V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, 2 vols. in 5 pts, Paris 1963-1981, V/1, no. 621; cf. D. Tsougarakis, "The Byzantine Seals of Crete", *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, vol. 2, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D. C. 1990, 137-152, esp. 145, catalogue no. 10.

⁷ John Nesbitt and Nicolas Oikonomides, eds., *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art; South of the Balkans, the Islands, South of Asia Minor*, vol. 2, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and

was in touch, was the one whom Xenos visited on his trip to Constantinople in order to get the chrysobull and privileges for his monastic foundations. Thus, it seems highly probable that this metropolitan Stephen was the member of the official ecclesiastical hierarchy of Crete who advised Xenos regarding his trip to the Patriarch.

It is interesting to note that the names of two bishoprics appear in the *Life*; Kalamon and Arion. These names though, are not clearly defined as names of bishoprics by Xenos. Kalamon is used in conjunction with Tourma which appears as the name of a village in the text while Arion appears as the name of a place.⁸ In subsequent sources these two names appear as the new names of two old bishoprics of Crete, Lampe and Sybritos respectively. A change of the names of bishoprics is noted after the reconquest of Crete (961).⁹ Xenos preferred to use the new names of these two bishoprics and not the old ones. Being close to the official ecclesiastical hierarchy of the area, Xenos would have been well informed about the changes of the bishoprics' names. The choice of the new names by him might also imply his foresight. The areas described were to be known from Xenos' time onwards by their new names. Wanting to be as precise as possible in his life's account and final will Xenos identified these areas by their new names with accuracy.

Thus, we can assume that the period of Xenos' activities was a period of joint action between the "official" ecclesiastical and administrative authorities, and "private" initiative. These joint efforts were directed to the growth of orthodoxy in the island after the long period of Arab occupation.

Next, the artistic situation in 11th century Crete regarding the building and painting of churches should be examined in conjunction with Xenos' building activities.

One might expect that a new era of building activities would have started after the island's reconquest by the Byzantines in 961. But for that period during which Xenos also built his churches, the archaeological evidence does not help us form a clear view of the

Collection, Washington, D. C. 1994, 99, catalogue no. 36.12; cf. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, p. 214.

⁸ On these two names, see Commentary.

⁹ For a discussion, see entry on *Arion* in Commentary.

situation in 11th century Crete, the circulation of artists, and the artistic connections between Crete and Constantinople. Painted church decoration is the only evidence that can help to define in general terms the artistic situation in Crete and the likely connections with the capital city.

While no painted church decoration has been preserved from the last decades of the 10th century, at least six painted churches are dated to the 11th century, and one is directly connected with Xenos. The earliest wall decoration of the 11th century is the first layer of frescoes partially preserved in the katholikon in Myriokephala, dedicated to the Mother of God the Antiphonetria which was built by Xenos.¹⁰ In addition, two churches with wall decorations are dated close to those of the church in Myriokephala: the church of Saint Eutychios and the church dedicated to Virgin Kera, both located outside the village of Chromonastiri, Rethymnon. Their dating is based on stylistic comparisons since neither of these two churches has inscriptions. The other three painted churches are the church of the Virgin outside the village of Fodele and the church of Saint Panteleimon at Bitzariano, which both have a first layer of wall decoration dated to the first half of the 11th century, and last, the church of Saint Barbara at Latziana, dated to the second half of the 11th century.¹¹

Regarding the first three monuments that are closer to Xenos' activities, with the first one being of his own creation, previous scholars have proposed that their decorations were presumably executed by local workshops which were in touch with the art in the rest of the empire. Among the three, those of Myriokephala are of the best quality. Moreover, these monuments of the first half of the 11th century follow stylistic trends that are current in the Byzantine empire. It is clear that Cretans were aware of these trends and were also capable of adopting their main features.¹²

¹⁰ For the dating of this church, see Commentary. A rather worn dedicatory inscription, in which the third indiction may be read, coincides with the years 1005 or 1020.

¹¹ On painted church decoration of monuments dated to the 11th century in Crete and a discussion on the likely artistic ties between Crete and Constantinople, see Maria Vassilakis-Mavrakakis, *The Church of the Virgin Gouverniotissa at Potamies, Crete*, PhD dissertation (unpublished), Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, London 1986, 53-58.

¹² Vassilakis-Mavrakakis, *The Church of the Virgin Gouverniotissa*, 55-61. On the wall decoration of the church in Myriokephala, see pp. 53-55.

It seems possible that artists travelled to Crete either at imperial or patriarchal instigation or because Crete offered employment during that period. The indigenous population of Crete was willing to pay. Constantinople could participate by encouraging the building of churches and monuments, and also by exhorting artists to go to Crete and work there.

It was common practice for artists to travel around the Byzantine empire and work, working to order, and teaching locals how to help them.¹³ Within the context of the resurgence of orthodoxy, painters, artists and builders could have been brought from the capital to build churches, paint them and in this way to help in the establishment of the new order in the island once again.

Thus, Xenos would not have faced serious problems regarding the building and the painting of his churches; builders and painters would have been available in the island. It should be noted though that the church in Myriokephala is the only one among his churches that carries frescoes; the first layer of frescoes dates to the 11th century and is the earliest painted church decoration of the period after 961 that survives to date. The quality of the frescoes in Myriokephala is not of the highest quality though. This might be indicative of the level of the painter who could have been either a local painter of a local workshop, somehow already informed of the new stylistic trends, or a traveller painter who had been sent to Crete or reached the island on his own initiative to work there, with his local trainees.

It should be noted that before the Arabs came, the only Christian monuments that existed in Crete were some basilicas.¹⁴ The surviving churches connected with Xenos¹⁵ fall into two architectural types: the "free-cross" domed type and the cross-in-square type.¹⁶ Thus, the type of churches Xenos first built was new for the island. The "free-cross" domed type churches erected by

¹³ Robin Cormack, "Ο καλλιτέχνης στην Κωνσταντινούπολη: αριθμοί, κοινωνική θέση, ζητήματα απόδοσης", *Το πορτραίτο του καλλιτέχνη στο Βυζάντιο*, Heraklion 1997, 45-76, esp. 65-66.

¹⁴ See Chapter 1, p. 31.

¹⁵ Attention should be paid regarding the identification of these churches; special references in the Commentary are made for each of the monuments referred to in the *Life of Xenos*.

¹⁶ See Vassilakis-Mavrakakis, *The Church of the Virgin Gouverniotissa*, 395-400, esp. 397-8.

Xenos are the church of the Mother of God the Antiphonetria in Myriokephala, the church of the Virgin in Kyrianna which can possibly be identified with the church of Saint Georgios Opsaropiastes¹⁷, and the church dedicated to Saint Pavlos on the south coast of western Crete. On the other hand the church of the Mother of God in Koufos erected by Xenos is a cross-in-square type church. The most interesting point in Xenos' building activities is the differences noted in the surviving church he built after coming back from Constantinople. The church built in the area of Koufos, dedicated to the Mother of God, is a cross-in-square type church and carries very distinct Constantinopolitan characteristics.¹⁸ This suggests that he may have been influenced by Constantinople and all that he saw there. He might also have brought architectural designs from the capital city, which he showed and explained to the local builders. There is also the possibility that painters, builders and architects travelled with him back to Crete.

The building activities of Xenos indicate that he was very well informed about the building and artistic tendencies of his time. He was a practical man who knew how buildings were built, and how to supervise building activities. In his *Life* Xenos refers to the building of his churches using the 1st person singular: l. 34. ἀνέγειρα; l. 52. ἐδομησάμην ; l. 56. ἀνοικοδόμησα ; l. 81. ἀνήγειρα; l. 119. ἀνέγειρα; l. 123. οἶκησα εὐκτήριον. He also refers to the people who helped him; in line 67 the 3rd person plural is used (ἀνήγειραν) for the building of the church of Saint Georgios the Opsaropiastes. But despite the 1st person singular used, his initiative and his ability of building churches, creating and organising monastic foundations as this is apparent from the *Life*, imply that Xenos knew how to supervise the building of churches and that he somehow was aware of architectural designs and plans for the churches; he might also have known how to read such plans and explain them to the local builders. It seems very possible that he might have known how to

¹⁷ M.G. Andrianakis ("Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐρημίτης καὶ ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Γδερνέτου", *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ε΄ Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* ["Ἅγιος Νικόλαος 1981], vol. 2, Heraklion 1985, 14-53, esp. 36 [note 61], 47) identified the church of Saint Georgios the Opsaropiastes with the church of the Virgin in Kyrianna; on the theories about the identification of this church, see relevant entry in the Commentary.

¹⁸ See Anastasios Orlandos, "Ὁ Ἁγ. κυρ-Γιάννης τοῦ Ἀλικτιανοῦ Κουφοῦ", *Ἀρχεῖον Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων Ἑλλάδος*, vol. 8, Athens 1955-1956, 170-205.

build himself. Towards the end of his *Life* (ll. 122-123) Xenos refers to the building of the church of Saint Pavlos which was built on the seashore at a very remote area on the south coast of western Crete where Xenos went to avoid people, pray and find *eremia* and *hesychia*. One might wonder how he built this church and if he built it by himself. It seems difficult but not impossible for Xenos to have built this church by himself. Although the church he built prior to that one, was a cross-in-square type with Constantinopolitan influences in the area of Koufos, this one is a small "free-cross" domed church which is a type offering many advantages for an "easier" construction.¹⁹ He probably chose to follow this type since it was easier for one man to build.

A combination of factors contributed to the intense building activities of Xenos. The connections of Xenos with the official ecclesiastical and administrative hierarchy of the island definitely helped him in his activities. In the general context of the resurgence of Christianity, Xenos would have had easy access to builders, painters of churches and existing local workshops. Artists and builders, either locals or travellers, were probably available for work. In addition to this favourable situation, the personality and the knowledge Xenos seemed to have played a very significant role. Xenos was a man with a good knowledge of building activities; he knew how to build and how to supervise building.

Xenos' initiative helped to advance the building of churches in Crete and their painting. The fact that two churches in Rethymnon exist, dated to the 11th century, and with fresco decoration similar to Xenos' church in Myriokephala,²⁰ might be indicative of the influence on building and painting churches after Xenos' activities. Local workshops of painters might have been developed and expanded after these first activities performed by Xenos in Crete.

¹⁹ ["Free-cross" domed churches] were less expensive to build compared with the cross-in-square ones; they did not require any free-standing supporting columns for the dome, which were expensive to transport; they did not also include any domed or barrel-vaulted angular compartments as the cross-in-square churches did, which, by demanding special constructional methods would also increase the funds needed. At the same time, however, they were domed structures and a dome was felt to contribute to the church's symbolic effect; see Vassilakis-Mavrakakis, *The Church of the Virgin Gouverniotissa*, 397.

²⁰ The churches of Saint Eutychios and Virgin Kera near Chromonastiri, Rethymnon; see above.

The presence of Xenos turned out to be crucial not only for the resurgence of orthodoxy in the island and the encouragement of the building and church decoration activities, but also for the cultivation of land, the increase in productivity and the accumulation of wealth.

A look at the map of Crete shows that the areas that Xenos "controlled" and "affected" were quite large; he travelled around western Crete and his presence and work influenced almost half of the island. According to his *Life* most of the places he visited had to be cleared, precisely defined and also enclosed. Land clearance for building or cultivation purposes and the definition of the boundaries of monastic properties seem to have been so crucial for the founder Xenos that once it was also accompanied by a purchase contract (ll. 49-51). This shows respect towards the people of the island and a desire to avoid any misunderstanding regarding areas belonging to the monasteries. Additionally, in order to support his monastic establishments, he proceeded to the cultivation of land and the creation of vegetable gardens and vineyards for the supply of food and wine, both for consumption and the Holy Communion; the planting of trees of all kinds; the acquisition of animals, not only for the supply of food but also for work in the fields and transportation; the installation of beehives and the creation of a μελισσοουργεῖον (apiary, apiculture centre) not only for the supply of honey as food and preservative substance, but also for the supply of wax for candles for the churches. Moreover, the construction of a cistern in a very dry place (ll. 58-59) shows the perceptiveness and concern that characterised Xenos' monastic foundations. The construction of "buildings with roof-tiles for the monks to have their accommodation" (l. 83) and also the acquisition of "pack-saddled young mules to convey the nourishment of the monks" (ll. 106-107) prove once again the concern and interest of Xenos for the people who were to live in the monastic foundations. This concern is also evident from his repeated visits to his monastic foundations in order to see how these were functioning and if they were facing any problems, and from his consecration of all the gifts he received from the devout people, the *philochristoi*, and the imperial authorities, local and Constantinopolitan, to these foundations. These gifts included not only pieces of arable land,

animals and objects for everyday use, but also books, sacred vessels and holy icons for the well being of the churches.

His concern for the monastic foundations and their life reached its peak with the acquisition of the chrysobull and the privileges from the imperial and patriarchal authorities in Constantinople, and also with the composition of the text where he records his life and deeds and states his final will about the monasteries.

The way he behaved towards local people, the way he respected them and the way he organised everything with clarity, integrity and honesty made people trust him and follow him.

The support Xenos received from the indigenous population of the island is noted throughout the *Life*. The inhabitants of whole villages offered him their personal help and also part of their properties; they helped the holy man not only in his building activities but also in the cultivation of land and the arrangement of agricultural life around the monastic establishments. The participation of the people in the life of Xenos' monastic foundations created an "interdependence" between these two units, i.e. the villages and the monasteries. The monasteries needed the villages and their inhabitants in various activities like agriculture, building and construction activities and maintenance of buildings. On the other hand, the villagers profited from the existence of these monastic centres in various ways; work had been offered, places of learning had been created, the religious needs of people were met, and help would be provided to homeless, hungry, and generally to people who were suffering for various reasons.

All these people initially followed Xenos to satisfy their religious needs, listen to his teaching and feel close to God. Having met their needs at the religious level, they trusted Xenos and believed in him, and placed other kinds of activities in the context of the monasteries and Christianity that Xenos kept creating.

Xenos in his turn addressed these people, whom he usually calls *philochristoi*, the devout Christ-loving people, every time he was facing a problem or needed help (cf. ll. 47-48, 52, 67, 76-77). These local anonymous people also helped him either guided by God (ll. 60-61. ἐκ Θεοῦ δὲ ὁδηγηθέντες) or on their own initiative (ll. 70, 80, 85) as the *Life* records. Throughout the *Life* Xenos

recognises the help received from the *philochristoi* and insists on their significant role. In *philochristoi* Xenos found a motive power that encouraged and helped him to accomplish his tasks.

The foundation of all these monastic centres and the involvement of whole village communities within their monastic context resulted in the increase in productivity, the accumulation of wealth and the strengthening of the ties between the people and the church.

Another point that has to be emphasised is the way Xenos created a net of monastic foundations that were interdependent and connected together in the form of a *metochion* (monastic establishment subordinate to a larger independent monastery) and shared properties. The phrase in lines 130-132 ὡς ἂν πάσας ἐκκλησίας ἤγειρα – καὶ ἃ προσεκτησάμην – ἵνα εἰσὶν πάντα εἰς τὴν μονὴν τοῦ Μυριοκεφάλου (that all the churches I raised - and all these things that I acquired - all are to belong to the monastery of Myriokephalon) declares the subordination of all monastic establishments Xenos founded to the main monastery of the Mother of God in Myriokephala. The term *metochion* though is used in the text only for the foundations of Saint Georgios Douvrikas at Melix (l. 107-108), Saint Georgios Opsaropiastes at Arion (l. 108) and Saint Patapios at Mousela (ll. 81, 107). A similar term denoting the dependency of the rest of Xenos' monastic foundations to the main monastery in Myriokephala does not appear in the text. Of special note is an indirect reference in the *Life* which suggests the dependency of Saint Georgios in Azogyreas to Xenos' main monastery. The phrase in lines 124-125 καὶ ἐποίησα ἐκεῖ μελισσουργεῖον εἰς τὸ εἶναι εἰς τὴν εἰρημένην μονήν (and there I made an apiary to belong to the said monastery) denotes that the apiary was considered as property of the "said monastery", i.e. the monastery of the Mother of God in Myriokephala. Thus, even if the term *metochion* is not especially used for each monastic foundation of Xenos, the reference in lines 130-132 is sufficient to state the dependency bonds of these monastic units to the main unit of Myriokephala church.²¹

²¹ Tsougarakis, not paying due attention to the text and especially the phrase in lines 130-132, erroneously refers to the churches of Saints Eutychios and Eutychianos, Saint Pavlos and Saint Georgios in Azogyreas as not being

Next to the net of monastic foundations Xenos also created a net of religious people by usually leaving somebody behind, a monk or priest, to take care of each monastic foundation and its property. According to the *Life* Xenos left one monk at the church of Eutychios and Eutychianos (l. 37); monk Loukas at the monastery of the Mother of God the Antiphonetria in Myriokephala (ll. 54-55)²² while later, before his trip to Constantinople, the monastery is said to have twelve monks (l. 90); monk Nikodemos at Saint Georgios Douvrikas in Melix whom Xenos subsequently set up as a priest (ll. 62-64); priest Eutychios at Saint Georgios Opsaropiastes in Arion (l. 71); an indefinite number of monks at Saint Patapios in Mousela (l. 84); and monk Kyrillos at the church of the Mother of God in Koufos (ll. 120-121). At the church of Saint Georgios in Azogyreas Xenos should have left at least one monk behind to take care of the apiary he organised (123-125).

The net of religious people Xenos created consisted not only of monks and priests but also of the inhabitants of the island who appear always eager to support Xenos in his activities. The indigenous population's support appears as an important and significant factor in favour of Xenos' monastic foundations.²³

The two kinds of nets Xenos created, the inanimate one of the foundations and the animate one of the people, made his monastic establishments stronger and more viable through mutual help, support and solidarity.

To sum up. The reasons that made Xenos' monastic activity fruitful and successful, were: the favourable political and military situation of the region; the support Xenos received from the official administrative and ecclesiastical hierarchy of the island and consequently of Constantinople within the framework of the resurgence of Christianity in the island after 961; the artistic situation in Crete in its turn (which seems to have been favoured

dependent on the main monastery of Myriokephala; see Tsougarakis, "Βυζαντινά μοναστήρια της Κρήτης", *Θυσιαυρίσματα* 26 (1996), 7-24, esp. 11-14.

²² In line 75 of the text there is a reference to more than one monks in the monastery in Myriokephala (εὕρων τοὺς μοναχοὺς οὓς κατέλιπον = finding the monks that I had left behind). It seems that monk Loukas was the first to be ordained for the monastery and this was the reason for Xenos to make special reference to him in the *Life* (ll. 54-55).

²³ See above; for the laymen appearing in Xenos' *Life*, see entry on *philochristoi* in Commentary.

by Xenos' activities as well); the respect in which Xenos was held by the indigenous population; the involvement of village communities and of great numbers of people -monks and laymen- who joined Xenos; the small but numerous donations of properties and land-holdings for the monastic foundations; the interdependence of monastic houses; and finally the chrysobull and the privileges Xenos acquired from the imperial and patriarchal authorities of Constantinople to safeguard the status and properties of his monastic foundations.

Finally, the striking personality of Ioannes Xenos as this is depicted through his activities in the *Life*. Xenos was not only a spiritual holy man; he knew how to cope with all practical aspects of life as is apparent from all his different building activities (churches, cells, cistern, buildings), and also from his capacity to organise monastic communities in which the indigenous population and whole villages got involved. A person with excellent qualities, Xenos was a clever, talented man with a practical turn of mind, specialised knowledge, important connections and organisational and managerial skills; an active man with insight and vision, he deeply cared for the monastic foundations created by himself.

His presence in post Arab Crete was very important for monasticism and art on the island, for the population of Crete who had been secluded from the main nucleus of the empire for approximately 135 years, and finally for the Byzantine empire which wanted to strengthen and restore the position of Crete within its Christian and imperial framework.

Chapter three

Language and composition of the text

1. Notes on the language in the *Life of Ioannes Xenos*

Though most Byzantine religious literature was couched in highly developed stylistic and linguistic forms, writers of Saints' *Lives* often drew attention to their preference for a simpler, non-classical language and style¹, either due to their own lack of education, or to their desire to be intelligible to the uneducated, or even to the nature of their theme: the simplicity and purity of holy persons' lives². Despite the writers' clear declarations regarding simple and unadorned stylistic and linguistic features, some Saints' *Lives* are written in high style and language, but the main bulk of hagiographical texts use a much simpler style³.

From as early as the 4th century Saints' *Lives* were mainly written in a low style. They were usually linked with the place where the holy persons lived and performed their miracles, died, and their cult was practised. They were also addressed to an audience who might have been illiterate or poorly educated, and for whom it was the charismatic personality of the holy person that mattered, and not the language and style used for his praise. For such reasons, Saints' *Lives* were usually written in the simple spoken language, the language that uneducated people could understand. Basic characteristics of this level of language are a paratactic sentence structure, rare use of the optative, uncertainty in the use of the dative, confusion of the aorist and perfect, and the use of frequent Latin loan-words⁴.

The *Life of Ioannes Xenos* as preserved in *Canonicus graecus* 19, is written in a very simple language where paratactic sentence

¹ It should be noted that the language of the hagiographical works needs further study in broader terms as it is a topic that has not been examined thoroughly. The best available study today is the book by Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek. A History of the Language and its Speakers*, London-New York 1997; an excellent work for the Greek language and its history, it also contains an extended study on the Greek in the Byzantine empire throughout the centuries including references to hagiographical works.

² For examples, see Robert Browning, "The language of Byzantine Literature", *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina; The "Past" in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, vol. 1, Malibu, California 1978, 103-133, esp. 104; (=idem, *History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World*, Northampton 1989, study xv).

³ See Ihor Sevcenko, "Levels of style in Byzantine Prose", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31/1 (1982), 289-312, esp. 291-2.

⁴ See Browning, "The language of Byzantine Literature", 108.

structure is the dominant feature. It thus belongs to the majority of Saints' *Lives*. A detailed description of the text's syntax, grammar and vocabulary will bring out its stylistic and linguistic elements.

SYNTAX

The paratactic sentence structure and *asyndeton* are two of the main syntactical features of the text. Paratactic construction which is the norm in popular narrative works and especially in Saints' *Lives* written in the low style, is used throughout; most sentences are introduced by καί or by a relative pronoun. Main clauses predominate over subordinate clauses, most of which are relative or declarative. Signs of punctuation in the manuscript prove to be very helpful for the division of sentences⁵.

The alternate use of main verbs and participles and the extensive use of the participle characterise this paratactic sentence structure. The incorrect use of the participle in place of a main verb is typical of a half educated person, who is trying to raise the style of the text in this way. Participles are used while forms of the indicative could have been used⁶ in line 15: ἔχων for ἔχει⁷; line 25: εὐρών (spelt as in the manuscript) for εὐρον⁸; line 95: ἔχων for ἔχειν⁹; and line 119: κατεφύτευσας (leg. κατεφυτεύσας) for κατεφύτευσα¹⁰.

Although absolute participles are used in the text it is not possible to say with certainty that they were introduced consciously by the author as absolutes. The usage of the genitive absolute shows that the person who composed the *Life*, did not

⁵ Previous editors did not pay due attention to the punctuation signs of the manuscript; consequently, problems were created in their editions. A characteristic example is the phrase of lines 81-82 "καὶ οὕτως ἐποίησα περιβόλιν πολυτελές· δένδρα ἐν αὐτῷ κατεφύτευσά"; see relevant entry in the Commentary.

⁶ In the critical edition these participles have been replaced by forms of the indicative.

⁷ The participle here had to be replaced by the indicative form as there is no main verb in the sentence.

⁸ In the phrase of lines 23-26 (Κάκεισε προσμείνας ... κατὰ μεσημβρίαν) εὐρών occurs three times as a participle and at least one of them should have been the main verb of the sentence.

⁹ The participle had to be replaced by the infinitive since it carries as its subjects the accusatives τὸν κατὰ χώραν μητροπολίτην and τινὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων, and it is also connected to other infinitives in this phrase (i.e. τοῦ λαμβάνειν and τοῦ εἶναι).

¹⁰ The participle has been replaced by the indicative form; see below, on the use of nominative absolutes.

know how to use it correctly, as there are genitive absolutes referring to the subject of the main verb:

l. 18: ποθοῦντός μου τὸν ...βίον: it refers to the subject of the verb ἐξῆλθον.

l. 55: ἐξελθόντος μου : it refers to the subject of the verb εὔρον.

l. 122: ἀπελθόντος μου: it refers to the subject of the verbs προσέμεινα and οἶκησα.

But there are also genitive absolutes correctly used in lines 42-43: εὐχομένου μου ... ἦλθέ μοι φωνή τοιαύτη¹¹; and in lines 45-46: εἶδον φῶς μέγα καὶ διακελευούσης φωνῆς τοιαύτης¹².

Nominative absolutes coexist together with genitive absolutes but their use cannot be considered conscious; their use frequently causes defective syntax. In the phrase of line 47 καὶ ἅμα τοῦτο γεγονῶς διῆλθον (leg. γεγονός), the participle could have been turned to a genitive absolute (καὶ ἅμα τούτου γεγονότος διῆλθον) and the lack of syntax would have been avoided at this point. Defective syntax is also caused in line 62 with the use of the nominative absolute προσελθὼν ἀνὴρ. Moreover, the use of the nominative absolute κατεφύτευσας (leg. κατεφυτεύσας)¹³ in line 119 is unjustified. On the other hand, a correct use of the nominative absolute is encountered in line 67 (Αἰτήσας τοὺς οἰκήτορας τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωρίου, ἀνήγειραν ναόν).

The extensive use of participles, the incorrect and often unjustified use of absolutes, and the frequent replacement of the indicative forms by them throughout the text denote a poorly educated author who pursues a higher style of the text in this way.

Throughout the text there is a generally good use of the dative either as an indirect object or in prepositional constructions (adverbial use). However, there are phrases where the accusative or the genitive is used instead of the dative. In the phrase καὶ ἄγωνας ἑαυτὸν θέμενος of line 49, the accusative ἑαυτόν is used instead of the dative ἑαυτῷ (actually ἑμαυτῷ). The accusative form of the reflexive pronoun is once again used instead of the dative; in the

¹¹ However, the deletion of the word μοι would have given an even better structure of the sentence, i.e. εὐχομένου μου ... ἦλθε φωνή τοιαύτη.

¹² The presence of a verb, though, would have given a better sentence structure, i.e. εἶδον φῶς μέγα καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς τοιαύτης διακελευούσης. For an interplay between the active and passive forms of this particular participle, see below, examples of defective syntax.

¹³ The participle is changed to the indicative form κατεφύτευσα in the edition. For a grammatical point on this participle, see grammar section.

phrase of line 32 καὶ θέμενος ὁλοψύχως τὸν ἑμαυτὸν μου, the phrasal reflexive pronoun with an article, τὸν ἑμαυτὸν μου, is used instead of the dative ἑμαυτῷ.¹⁴ Another case where the genitive is used in place of the dative is in the phrase of line 92 λόγου ψυχικῆς αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας, where the dative λόγῳ would have been the proper case. The restricted use and gradual abandonment of the dative and its replacement by the genitive and the accusative is a characteristic that although it dates back to the 4th century, it can clearly imply the low educational level of the author.¹⁵

The prepositional infinitive is extensively used to denote purpose: εἰς τὸ ὑποδέχεσθαι (l. 59), εἰς τὸ ἔχειν (l. 84), καὶ <εἰς τὸ> ἔξ αὐτῶν πορίζεσθαι (l. 84), εἰς τὸ ἀποκομίζειν (ll. 106-107), διὰ τὸ – ἔχειν (ll. 116-117), εἰς τὸ εἶναι (l. 124); or to denote time: ἐν τῷ διαπορεύεσθαί με (l. 27), ἅμα τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν (ll. 41-42). Similarly, the simple articular infinitive is used to denote purpose as well: τοῦ λαμβάνειν (l. 91), τοῦ εἶναι (l. 93).

Through his use of prepositions, their syntax and the sense prepositions give to verbs, the author's confusion and ignorance is revealed. The preposition ὑπό in the phrase ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοχρίστων (l. 102) is erroneously used as it does not denote the agent in this case; the correct use would have been ἐκ τῶν φιλοχρίστων but ὑπό has been kept in the edition. On the other hand, the preposition ἀπό (l. 110) is correctly used in the phrase ἀπὸ τῶν φιλοχρίστων. Thus, regarding the use of prepositions ὑπό and ἀπό in these two phrases, we can assume that the author of the text is not totally aware of their appropriate use and he is confused as to the agent. His ignorance regarding prepositions is also confirmed by the use of ἐκ (ἐξ) in the phrase ἐξ ὀνόματος (l. 28) instead of the correct διὰ τοῦ ὀνοματός μου; and the use of πρὸς in the compound verb προσέμεινα (l. 122) meaning "wait" instead of παρέμεινα meaning "stay"¹⁶.

¹⁴ For the different forms of the reflexive pronoun in the text, see grammar section.

¹⁵ On the use of the dative, see Horrocks, *Greek*, 216-7.

At this point it is worth mentioning what Browning says regarding the meaningless efforts to classify linguistic phenomena in certain periods of time; "In the domain of morphology a number of changes can be traced, though none can be dated with precision. In any case dates are meaningless in such matters, since old and new patterns coexist for a long time in the speech habit of a community"; Robert Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, Cambridge 1969¹, 64, and Cambridge 1983², 58.

¹⁶ Translated into "stayed" in the present study.

Characteristic of the vernacular, though, is the syntax of preposition *ἀπό* with accusative in the phrase *ἀπὸ ὅρος εἰς ὅρος* (l. 18) instead of genitive (*ἀπὸ ὅρους εἰς ὅρος*).¹⁷

As previously said, in the context of a narrative piece of writing such as the *Life of Ioannes Xenos*, paratactic sentence structure together with the extensive use of the participles results in many cases in defective syntax. Some examples¹⁸:

ll. 40-41: *εὗρον ἦν ἄνω τοῦ ὅρους κτίσμα ἐλληνικὸν παμμέγεθες τοῦ λεγομένου Μυριοκεφάλου*: Obviously the author was not aware of the rules for syntax and he made this syntactical mistake. It should be changed either to *εὗρον εἶναι* or *εὗρον <ὃ> ἦν* as Delehayé proposed in his edition; in the present critical edition [*ἦν*] was put in brackets. In this same phrase, of special note is the order of the words; *κτίσμα ἐλληνικὸν παμμέγεθες* is placed in such a way within the phrase that breaks the natural sequence of *τοῦ ὅρους τοῦ λεγομένου Μυριοκεφάλου*.

ll. 50-51: ... *τοῦ λεγομένου Μυριοκεφάλου, διαίρων τὸν τόπον* ... : a typical example of the *asyndeton*; the introduction of an upper point in the manuscript before the participle *διαίρων* was thought adequate while conjunction *καί* was expected.¹⁹

ll. 55-56: *τόπον ἕτερον τοῦ λεγομένου τοῦ Μέλικο*: lack of syntax is detected here as the proper syntax should be *τόπον ἕτερον τὸν λεγόμενον τοῦ Μέλικο*; a similar case of defective syntax is found in *τὸν τόπον τοῦ λεγομένου Κουφοῦ* (l. 118) instead of *τὸν τόπον τὸν λεγόμενον τοῦ Κουφοῦ*. Proper syntax though is found in seven similar cases²⁰.

ll. 63-64: ... *Πνεύματος ὁ μοναχὸς Νικόδημος*: strange usage of the article *ὁ* which is not actually needed.

l. 82: *ἐποίησα περιβόλιν πολυτελές· δένδρα ἐν αὐτῷ κατεφύτευσα*: another typical example of *asyndeton*. Tomadakis was confused by this phrase as he did not take the punctuation signs of the manuscript

¹⁷ See Horrocks, *Greek*, 269-70. Noteworthy is also the phrase *τὸ ὅρος εἰς ὅρος* in line 38 without the preposition *ἀπό*, indicative of the low level style of the text.

¹⁸ The examples here do not include the cases where genitive and nominative absolutes are involved; for defective syntax caused due to the presence of absolutes, see above, in syntax section.

¹⁹ See relevant entry in the Commentary.

²⁰ *ἀπὸ χωρίου τοῦ λεγομένου Σίβα* (l. 16); *τοῦ ὅρους ... τοῦ λεγομένου τοῦ Ραξοῦ* (l. 22); *τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ λεγομένου Τούρμα* (l. 39); *τοῦ ὅρους ... τοῦ λεγομένου Μυριοκεφάλου* (ll. 40-41); *τοῦ δηλωθέντος τόπου τοῦ λεγομένου Μυριοκεφάλου* (ll. 50-51); *τόπον τὸν λεγόμενον Ἀριον* (ll. 65-66); *ναὸν τὸν λεγόμενον ἄγιον Γεώργιον* (l. 68).

into account and did not consider the language in which the *Life* was written. Following the punctuation of the manuscript, defective syntax here can be resolved.²¹

Ignorance regarding the syntax of verb-forms and other syntactical phenomena can cause defective syntax and is evident in the following examples:

ll. 27-28: κατῆλθέν μοι ... φωνή ... διακελευομένη μοι τοιαῦτα; and ll. 45-46: εἶδον φῶς μέγα καὶ διακελευούσης φωνῆς τοιαύτης: the participle of the verb διακελεύω is used in these two similar cases in both active and passive forms; this inconsistency of the use of grammar and syntax can be attributed to the author's low educational level.

l. 91: δεηθεῖς αὐτοῖς χρυσοβούλλου: the verb δέομαι takes the genitive and accusative as its objects (δέομαι τινός τι) and not the dative and genitive as in this phrase; the correct syntax would have been δεηθεῖς αὐτῶν χρυσόβουλλον.

l. 91: τοῦ λαμβάνειν ἐτησίως ἡ μονή: ἡ μονή, the subject of the infinitive λαμβάνειν, should have been in the accusative (τὴν μονήν); further down though, the infinitive εἶναι (l. 93) which is connected to λαμβάνειν with καί, carries its subject in the accusative (ταύτην, i.e. τὴν μονήν).

The paratactic sentence structure and the *asyndeton* characterise low style hagiographical texts like the *Life of Ioannes Xenos*. In addition, the numerous cases of defective syntax found in the text, the confusion regarding the use of prepositions and the extensive use of participles in order to beautify and elevate the text's style indicate the low educational level of the author and his ignorance regarding syntax rules.

GRAMMAR

The text is marked by the confusion of grammatical forms of nouns and verbs.

A confusion in the formation of aorists (1st aorist and 2nd aorist) is noticeable. In line 65 the aorist of καταλαμβάνω is formed with the ending of the 1st aorist (-α), κατέλαβα; the 2nd aorist (κατέλαβον) of the same verb is found further down in line 118 of the text. Similarly, in line 90 the aorist of καταλείπω is formed from

²¹ See relevant entry in the Commentary.

the stem of the 2nd aorist (κατέλιπ-) and the ending of the 1st aorist (-α), κατέλιπα (mispelt as κατέλειπα in the manuscript); however, the form of the 2nd aorist is found in line 75, κατέλιπεν (written κατέλοιπεν in the manuscript and corrected in the critical edition to κατέλιπον²²). The ending of the 1st aorist, -(σ)α, is also used for the formation of the aorist of the compound verbs καθίστημι and ἀποκαθίστημι. The form κατέστησεν (κατέστησαν in the manuscript)²³ is used in line 10 (formed from the 2nd aorist κατέστη and the ending -(σ)εν of the 3rd person singular of the 1st aorist) and the form ἀπεκατέστησα in lines 64 and 89 (formed from the 2nd aorist ἀποκατέστην and the ending -(σ)α of the 1st person singular of the 1st aorist)^{24,25}

Of special note is the functional merger of perfect and aorist forms. The form δέδωκαν (ll. 61 and 70) resulted from the perfect δεδώκασιν and the aorist ἔδωκαν which is an evolution of the classical Greek ἔδοσαν form; this merger is indicative of popular spoken Greek, especially of the later Byzantine period.²⁶

The simultaneous presence of vernacular and archaic types within the text is noteworthy. The vernacular type ἐκούρευσα of the verb κουρεύω is used (ll. 54 and 62) instead of ἔκειρα of the verb κείρω, while the archaic ἀποκείρας (verb ἀποκείρω) is used in lines 71 and 120.

The presence of the final -ν in the 3rd person singular of the aorist passive form κατεδικάστην (l. 11)²⁷ is indicative of the spoken Greek of the Byzantine period.²⁸ It is used instead of the classical κατεδικάσθη, the form preferred in previous editions of the text.

Of special interest is the reflexive pronoun and its different forms appearing in the text²⁹:

l. 26: καθ' ἑαυτόν : the classical form should be κατ' ἑμαυτόν .

²² See also relevant entry in the Commentary.

²³ For this form, see relevant entry in the Commentary.

²⁴ For the double augment appearing in the word ἀπ εκατέστησα, see below.

²⁵ For the past-tense endings, see Horrocks, *Greek*, 247-8.

²⁶ For the aorist form ἔδωκαν , the spread of κ-aorists and the merger of perfect and aorist forms, see Horrocks, *Greek*, 232-3 and 247-8.

²⁷ The form κατεδικάστην has been changed to κατεδικάσθη in the critical edition in order to avoid confusion with the 1st person singular.

²⁸ See Horrocks, *Greek*, 233.

²⁹ For the syntax of the reflexive pronoun in lines 32 and 49, see syntax section.

l. 32: τὸν ἐμαυτὸν μου: the classical form should be ἐμαυτόν; proper syntax demands the use of the dative ἐμαυτῷ.³⁰

l. 49: ἑαυτὸν θέμενος : the classical form should be ἐμαυτῷ.

l. 116: ἐμαυτὸν εἰδήσας: this form corresponds to classical Greek.

A confusion of the masculine and neuter gender forms is evident; the neuter gender form is used for the masculine gender as well (the stem of the word in fact). The phrasal reflexive pronoun (τὸν ἐμαυτὸν μου) with the presence of the article and the merger of the pronoun's gender forms are characteristic of the vernacular of the 14th and 15th centuries.³¹

Among these observations, we should also include the simultaneous presence of different forms of the same verb regarding the augment used; sometimes the correct, i.e. expected classical Greek, augment is used, other times a different augment appears - *η* instead of *ε* - and other times a double augment is present within the verb. The augment is not used in ἀνέγειρα (ll. 34, 119³²) while it is used in ἀνήγειραν (l. 67), and ἀνήγειρα (l. 81). The same happens for ἀναχώρησα (l. 37) which is used without the augment instead ἀνεχώρησα; but in lines 65, 72, 121 the form ἀνηχώρησα appears with an *η* instead of an *ε* as the augment. Similarly in line 74 there is the form ἀνηπέστρεψα for ἀνεπέστρεψα^{33,34} Double augment appears in the following verb-forms: ἀπεκατέστησα (ll. 64, 89); ἐπερι ἦλθον (l. 111); ἐπροσήφερον (l. 112); ἐκατεφύτευσα (l. 88), but also κατεφύτευσα without the second augment in lines 82, 83, 87, 119³⁵ and also the word ἐφύτευσα (l.

³⁰ On the proper syntax of this phrase, see syntax section.

³¹ See Horrocks, *Greek*, 281.

³² For ἀνέγειρα of line 119 the manuscript gives ἀνέγειραν; the word though precedes the word ναόν and the final -ν in ἀνέγειραν may be due to the following word starting with a ν; see relevant entry in the Commentary.

³³ For the double augment in ἀν ηπέστρεψα, see below; see also the vocabulary section.

³⁴ Regarding the use of an *η* instead of an *ε*, it should be noted that in the vernacular the accented augment *ε* becomes *η*. So, here it is extended to include words like ἀνηχώρησα and ἀνηπέστρεψα; see Horrocks, *Greek*, 289-90.

The tendency to generalise *η* as the accented augment during the 14th and 15th centuries is also a particular characteristic of eastern Crete (see Horrocks, *Greek*, 248 and 290). This might be a slight hint as to the place of the text's composition (the version in *Canonicus graecus 19*) and the manuscript's production; see Chapter 3. 2.

³⁵ The type κατεφύτευσα (as in the edition) of line 119 appears in the manuscript as a participle, κατ εφύτευσας with the augment *ε* and the accent not placed above the penultimate syllable as expected, instead of καταφυτεύσας .

88). There are also cases where there is no augment: in line 33 the infinitive ἐκδαφίζειν (as in the manuscript) for ἐξεδαφίζειν³⁶; and also in line 126 οὐκ ἔασάν με instead of οὐκ εἰασάν με³⁷. All these various types of augments coexist together with verb-forms carrying the correct augment like ηὔδόκησεν (l. 54) and κατώκησα (l. 127), while no augment appears in οἰκονόμησεν (l. 54), ἀνοικοδόμησα (l. 56) and οἶκησα (l. 123) in which cases the use of augment would give ὤκονόμησεν, ἀνωκοδόμησα, and ὤκησα respectively. The inconsistency in the use of verb-forms regarding the augment and the differentiations that occur reflect a period when the augment is gradually being abandoned and its forms vary.³⁸

The declension of nouns and adjectives is a field where some observations can be made. Despite numerous spelling mistakes in the text, a dative ending that appears twice on similar occasions, instead of an accusative ending, might be worth considering. In line 19, ἐρημίαις should be in the accusative since it is connected to the previous word ὄρος, which is in the accusative; but it is written with a dative ending. Moreover, in line 106 the word ὄνοθυλίας (ὄνοθηλείας in the edition) should be in the accusative as it is connected with all the previous accusatives (πρόβατα, αἰγίδια, φορβάδια, βορδόνια); but it keeps the dative ending. In these two cases, however, the -αις ending may not be the dative ending. As in Greek of the 19th century-beginning of the 20th century, this is the accusative ending which has now developed to the -ες accusative ending. It should be noted, of course, that in the first example (ἐρημίαις) the dative given could be an adverbial dative denoting place, but the second example strengthens the argument for the accusative form of these two words. The introduction of a new accusative ending is apparent here; the accent in both examples conforms to the dative form, though; confusion and ignorance of the scribe due to his poor education might be the cause for such mistakes.³⁹

³⁶ See relevant entry in the Commentary.

³⁷ In the edition the form is kept as in the manuscript.

³⁸ For the use and the variations of the augment during the Byzantine period, see Horrocks, *Greek*, 248.

³⁹ For the -αις ending, see Antonius N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar chiefly of the Attic dialect*, London 1897¹, Hildesheim 1968, 267^b.

The 3rd declension noun τὸ κρύος (l. 19) is used in its dative (κρύει) correctly. But despite the correct use of the 3rd declension noun cited here, other nouns and adjectives of the 3rd declension are treated as if they were either of the 1st or of the 2nd declension. This interplay between declensions is one of the principal developments in Greek during the middle and later Byzantine period. Nouns of the 3rd declension are treated as 1st declension ones: in line 41 δρυμήτηταν (as spelt in the manuscript) is used for δριμύτητα; the form ἱερέαν is used in the phrases ἱερέαν ἀπεκατέστησα (l. 64), and ἀποκείρας τὸν μοναχὸν Εὐτύχιον ἱερέαν, εὐθὺς ἀνηχώρησα (ll. 71-72) instead of ἱερέα. Regarding the last two cases, one might wonder if the final -ν is put for the sake of euphony since the next word starts with a vowel; but the interplay between declensions is encountered elsewhere as well. Of special note is the way that 3rd declension adjectives are formed: in line 40 παμμεγεθῇ is used instead of παμμέγεθες for κτίσμα ἑλληνικόν, and in line 82 πολυτελῇ is used instead of πολυτελές for περιβόλιν ⁴⁰. Moreover, in line 83 οἰκήματα κεραμόστεγα is used instead of οἰκήματα κεραμοστεγῇ; the 3rd declension adjective (τὸ κεραμοστεγές) is declined as a 2nd declension adjective (τὸ κεραμόστεγον). In addition to the above observations, the 1st declension proper name Λουκῶς is given in its accusative form as Λουκῶ instead of Λουκῶν (l. 55). The elimination of the final -ν in the accusative singular is indicative of the later Byzantine period.⁴¹

Distinctive examples of the principal developments in Greek that took place during the middle and especially the later Byzantine period, are encountered in the text. The introduction of alternative forms of words and the confusion of grammatical forms of nouns and verbs are clear proof of the evolution and change of the language. Moreover, the presence of vernacular types, the merger of perfect and aorist, the new form of the reflexive pronoun, and the interplay between declensions of nouns and adjectives are characteristics of the later Byzantine period and especially of the 14th and 15th centuries.

⁴⁰ For the problems caused in the previous editions due to the declension of the adjective πολυτελές, see relevant entry in the Commentary.

⁴¹ For the declension of nouns and adjectives and the interplay between declensions, see Horrocks, *Greek*, 218-20 and 221-3.

VOCABULARY

The choice of vocabulary in the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* depended on the subject of this particular narrative work and the purpose of its composition. Since the subject of the *Life* is the detailed account of Xenos' life and deeds, and the purpose of its composition was the accurate written declaration and notification of Xenos' will in order to safeguard the monastic foundations he created, the choice of words had to be accurate and precise and it is indeed. There are no abstract ideas or generalisations, everything is narrated in a matter of fact fashion and expressed in everyday language. Common mistakes which occur in authors lacking a solid linguistic background can be detected due to the poor educational level of the author, which is also obvious from his grammatical and syntactical mistakes.

The nature and quality of the author's linguistic background is revealed by imprecise or incorrect words or expressions. The word ἐπωνυμία is given once in its correct form (l. 13, spelt ἐπονυμία), and twice incorrectly as ἐπονομία (ll. 4 and 6: mute *iota* omitted); the word κακουχούμενος is given as κακοχούμενος (l. 19); and the word χειραγωγούμενος is given as χειραγούμενος (l. 44). It should be noted though, that the above incorrect forms of words have a linguistic basis, a linguistic reality (ἐπονομία < ἐπί + ὄνομα; κακοχούμενος < κακόν + ἔχομαι; and χειραγούμενος < χεῖρ + ἄγωμαι). Both types ἐνταῦθα (l. 44) and ἐνταῦτα (ll. 29, 46) are used in the text.

Of special note is the presence of strange, unusual compound verbs: the verb ἐντελεύομαι which appears twice in the text (ll. 20 and 52 as participle ἐντελεύόμενος), is not recorded in any of the dictionaries⁴²; the participle ὑπαισελθών of the compound verb ὑπαισέρχομαι (l. 25) is used incorrectly within a clumsy expression in order to denote great difficulty⁴³; and finally the form ἀνηπέστρεψα (l. 74) of the unusual compound verb ἀνεπιστρέφω⁴⁴. The use of such

⁴² For a complete discussion on this form, see relevant entry in the Commentary.

⁴³ For the clumsy expression, see below.

⁴⁴ The preposition αν- (meaning "up") is used in the formation of this compound verb to denote Xenos' route at this stage of his journey; from a lower place where he was, he returned to the monastery which was "up" on a mountainous area; see also relevant entry in the Commentary. For the double augment in ἀνηπέστρεψα, see grammar section.

unusual compounds might imply the author's desire to achieve a higher and more elegant style; however, because of this same reason, clumsy expressions are formed, e.g. in lines 24-25 the phrase σπήλαιον, ὃν καὶ ἔνδοθεν ὑπείσελθών: ὃν was replaced with ὃ in the edition; some sort of mistaken attraction took place and the previous accusative σπήλαιον lead to the writing of the accusative ὃν. Apart from the strange use of the compound verb ὑπείσερχομαι, the use of the adverb ἔνδοθεν, meaning "from within", is wrong; the use of adverb ἔνδον would have been correct while a pleonasm, since -εισ- of ὑπείσερχομαι contains the notion of "in".⁴⁵

Words of the vernacular are introduced together with phrases from the spoken language.

Vernacular words include: ἀμπέλιν (ll. 61, 83, 119) and also ἀμπέλι with elimination of the final ν (l. 89); περιβόλιν (ll. 61, 82); χωραφίτζιν (l. 70) and χωραφίτζια (l. 120); δενδρούτζικα (l. 70); τοῦ χαμοβουνίου (l. 56)⁴⁶; κουκουμίκια (l. 109); ἀπαλαρέας (l. 109).⁴⁷

Indicative of the spoken language of the middle and later Byzantine period, is the neuter's ending in vowel + ν (-ιν < -ιον); examples in the text include ἀμπέλιν (ll. 61, 83, 119) and also ἀμπέλι with elimination of the final ν (l. 89), περιβόλιν (ll. 61, 82) and χωραφίτζιν (l. 70). In addition, the regular reduction of the neuter suffix -ιον > -ι(ν) is characteristic of the vernacular. A characteristic of the same period is the replacement of masculine and feminine nouns by neuter diminutives in -ιν (e.g. ἀμπέλιν < ἄμπελος in ll. 61, 83, 89, 119).⁴⁸ The ending -ιτσιν or -ιτζιν of the diminutives χωραφίτζιν (l. 70), χωραφίτζια (l. 120) and δενδρούτζικα (l. 70) is another characteristic of the middle and later Byzantine period.⁴⁹

Spoken language phrases include: ἐπάνω τοῦ χωρίου (l. 39), ἄνω τοῦ ὄρους (l. 40), ἐπάνω τοῦ χαμοβουνίου (l. 56); in these phrases the adverbs ἐπάνω and ἄνω are used instead of the preposition ἐπί, which is indicative of the later period when the use of prepositions is reduced in number. Spoken language phrases also include: ἐπάνω

⁴⁵ For this clumsy expression, see also relevant entry in the Commentary.

⁴⁶ Such compound words are characteristic of the vernacular; see Horrocks, *Greek*, 259.

⁴⁷ For these vernacular words, see relevant entries in Emm. Kriaras, *Λεξικὸν τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημώδους Γραμματείας (1100-1669)*, Thessaloniki 1968-.

⁴⁸ See Horrocks, *Greek*, 218, 220 and 261.

⁴⁹ Ph. Koukoules, "Περὶ τῆς ὑποκοριστικῆς καταλήξεως -ιτσιν", *Ἑλληνικά* 4 (1931), 361-375.

εἰς τὴν μονήν (ll. 88-89), ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν Ἀζωγυρέαν (ll. 123-124), ὀπίσω ἐν γιालῷ (l. 122), ἔξω εἰς τὴν Ἀκτὴν (l. 127); the prepositions εἰς and ἐν are specified and supported by an adverbial element (ἐπάνω, ὀπίσω and ἔξω) to give further precision; this is an element indicative of the spoken Greek of the later Byzantine period.⁵⁰

Next to the words and phrases of the everyday spoken language and the words of the vernacular that are used in the text, there are also a number of "special" words and phrases one meets in monastic foundation documents (*typika*). These words and phrases appear towards the end of the text where the holy man states emphatically the details of his will, and especially after line 90, when Xenos mentions his trip to Constantinople where he acquired the privileges for his foundations from the imperial and patriarchal authorities. Some examples: καὶ τοῦ εἶναι ταύτην ἀνέπαφον ἀπὸ παντὸς καὶ παντοίου ἀρχοντικοῦ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ προσώπου (ll. 93-95); μηδ' ὅλως ἔχειν τὸν κατὰ χώραν μητροπολίτην ἢ τινα τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐπισχέσθαι εἰς τὰ δίκαια τῆς μονῆς ἢ εἰς ἃ προσεκτεσάμην (ll. 95-96); τὸ καθόλου εἶναι πάντα αὐτοδέσποτα καὶ κύρια ὑπὸ χεῖρας εἶναι τῆς δηλωθείσης μονῆς (ll. 99-100); μόνην τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ (ll. 100-101); and τοῦτο διορίζομαι καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσι (l. 130).⁵¹

Of special note is the impression one gets, that despite the text's low style, quite a few quotations from the Old and New Testament and also from the works of the Fathers, might be detected. But no quotations are found in the *Life*, only *echoes* of such quotations. Together with the vernacular words and the spoken language phrases, the author uses stereotypical expressions and phrases that denote a certain level of education. These are used in abundance throughout the text and can be considered as archaisms or learned expressions, familiar to the author, who despite his low educational level (obvious through the various

⁵⁰ For prepositions supported by adverbs and their reduced use in the vernacular, see Horrocks, *Greek*, 217.

⁵¹ A look at the indices of editions of monastic foundation documents (*typika*) shows that these words, or similar ones, are characteristic of such documents. For a list of the most known and important *typika*, see Catia Galatariotou, "Byzantine ktetorika typika: a comparative study", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 45 (1987), 77-138, esp. 137-138; see also K. Manaphes, *Μοναστηριακὰ τυπικά-διαθήκαι*, Athens 1970, 176-192, for a basic study and a quick reference to such words; Manaphes' study is quite dated and should not be consulted for other reasons than a quick reference.

syntactical and grammatical mistakes and also the use of some words), seems to have read the Old and New Testament and the works of Fathers, and was aware of phrases that are imprinted in the text. It seems that the author wanted to insert some biblical references in the text⁵² but he either did not know them in their exact form or did not have time to check them and use them properly⁵³. Due to the presence of these elements, the language is not devoid of beauty. Some examples⁵⁴:

ll. 8-11: Πηγὴ ἀφθαρσίας ὑπάρχων ὁ Θεὸς ... θανάτῳ καταδικάσθη .

ll. 11-12: οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃς ζήσεται καὶ οὐκ ὄψεται θάνατον.

ll. 13-14: ἀρρωστίᾳ κατακλιθεὶς καὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ θανάτου προσδοκῶν .

l. 15: ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος δι' οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ ἀνεδείξατο .

ll. 19-21: πλανώμενος, κακουχούμενος καὶ κρύει πιεζόμενος – καὶ συγκαιόμενος τῷ καύσωνι τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῷ παγετῷ τοῦ χειμῶνος.

ll. 21-22: καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀγρίων θηρίων καὶ ζώων συνοικῶν καὶ συνδιάγων (even if the last word is written as συναδιάγων in the manuscript).

l. 26: ἃ καὶ θεασάμενος καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν λογισάμενος.

l. 31: Κἀγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας (cf. also in l. 12: ὅθεν κἀγὼ ...).

l. 41: καὶ διὰ τὴν δριμύτηταν τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰσῆλθον ὧδε.

l. 69: ᾧ οὐκ ἔξεστιν καυχᾶσθαι μοι.

ll. 113-114: καὶ εἰς ἔτη ζέοντες πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν δύστηνον καὶ ὀλέθριον κατεκενοῦντο πάντες.

ll. 137-138: πρῶτον μὲν τῶν τῆς ἀκινήσιας δεσμῶν ἄλυτος ἔστω καὶ ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ κλῆρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦ Ἰούδα ἀγχόνη καθυποβαλλόμενος.

The introduction of vernacular words together with phrases from the spoken Greek of the later Byzantine period indicate that the period of the text's composition was the later Byzantine period. The use of special technical words, similarly used in *typika*, denote the subject and purpose of the text's composition. Everything in the text is narrated and expressed in everyday language with mistakes, which occur due to the author's ignorance and lack of education;

⁵² Cf. especially lines 8-11, where references to *Wisd. Sol.* (2.23) and *Genesis* (3.1-21) can be detected.

⁵³ The way the text has been composed and the orality reflected in the text might be the reasons for this; cf. Chapter 3. 2.

⁵⁴ The phrases that follow, could not be detected as such in Dictionaries, the Concordances and also *TLG*. However, similar phrases were found but do not help to consider the phrases of the *Life* as exact or similar quotations from Testaments and Fathers' writings; for some of these phrases there is a separate discussion in the relevant entries in the Commentary.

sometimes his effort to create a text of higher style and language is obvious through the use of strange complicated words and clumsy expressions.

CONCLUSION

The study of the syntax, the grammar and the vocabulary helps us to draw the following conclusions regarding the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* as this is preserved in *Canonicus graecus* 19 (2nd half of 15th/1st half of 16th century). It is a low level hagiographical text; the author lacked a solid linguistic background; the composition dates to the later Byzantine period (14th century); and the language in which it is written is mixed.

The paratactic sentence structure and the *asyndeton*, two of the main syntactical features of the text, characterise narrative pieces of literature and especially hagiographical works written in low style. In addition, the vocabulary used brings the text closer to everyday speech and characterises it as a low style hagiographical text.

Its author makes numerous syntactical and grammatical mistakes as he lacks a solid linguistic background; cases of defective syntax and *asyndeton*, confusion regarding the use of grammatical forms and of prepositions, and extensive use of participles are noted. He seems to be aware of his poor Greek as he sometimes tries to create a higher and more elegant style and language with strange and unusual verbs, clumsy expressions and also the extensive use of participles. However, a basic knowledge of religious texts is implied through the use of certain stereotypical expressions and phrases known to the author from his readings. In addition, the low educational level of the author of the text, evident through his use of language, results in enriching the text with elements of the spoken language.

The dating of the text's composition can be based on the presence of some principal developments of the Greek language that took place during the middle and especially the later Byzantine period. The introduction of alternative forms of words and the confusion of grammatical forms of nouns and verbs are clear proof of the evolution and change of the language. Moreover, the

presence of vernacular types together with spoken Greek phrases, the merger of perfect and aorist, the new form of the reflexive pronoun, and the interplay between declensions of nouns and adjectives are characteristics of the later Byzantine period and especially of the 14th and 15th centuries.

The language of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* can be characterised as mixed. The coexistence of "special" words mainly used in foundation monastic documents that denote the text's actual character and its special subject and purpose, together with everyday words, as well as the interchange of archaisms and vernacular or colloquial elements, characterise this mixed language. The author uses the colloquial spoken language he knows but has also got a certain education which allows him to use certain learned expressions and phrases. The cause of this mixed language is the educational level of the author and also the period of the text's composition which is a period when major developments occurred in the Greek language.

2. Composition of the text and its transmission (11th-20th century)

There are three stages in the development of the text which records the life, deeds and will of Ioannes Xenos; these three stages correspond to three different periods of time respectively:

1. Ioannes Xenos' activities and the recording of his life, deeds and will for the monastic foundations he created (11th century)¹.
2. The *Life of Ioannes Xenos* as preserved in *Canonicus graecus 19* (15th-16th century manuscript)²; the text preserved in this manuscript is a composition of the later Byzantine period (14th-15th century) as linguistic elements of the text testify³; it is written in the 1st person singular.
3. A popular version of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* as preserved in a now lost manuscript, *Cisamensis*, which was a 19th century copy of an 18th century manuscript⁴; it is written in popular Greek and the narration is in the 3rd person singular except its last part which is entitled *testament* and its narration is in the 1st person singular.

The main aim of this section is to show how these three stages are connected, to discuss their inter-relations and differences, and to explain the reasons for such differences, especially regarding the texts provided by *Canonicus graecus 19* and *Cisamensis*.

The *Life of Ioannes Xenos* as preserved in *Canonicus graecus 19* is penetrated with linguistic elements of the later Byzantine period, and thus it can be considered as a literary product of this later period. However, despite linguistic features that date it to a later period (14th-15th century) than the period when Xenos lived, founded his monastic establishments and died (11th century), the text carries characteristics that testify its earlier origin. The most important of these characteristics is the 1st person singular in which it is written. Additional internal elements indicate the way that the original text was delivered by Xenos before his death.

¹ For the dating of Xenos' activities, cf. internal reference to the Patriarch Alexios in the *Life* (see relevant entry in the Commentary).

² On the manuscript's dating, see Chapter 4. 1.

³ See Chapter 3. 1.

⁴ On this manuscript, see Appendix.

The 1st person singular in which the *Life* is written, might suggest that it was written by Xenos himself while on his deathbed; his illness is clearly stated in the first paragraph of the *Life* (ll. 13-14: ὀρθωστίᾳ κατακλιθεὶς καὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ θανάτου προσδοκῶν) and is also presented by Xenos as the main reason for recording his life and last will. Moreover, the phrase of line 103, τὴν μονὴν ἣν ὁρᾶτε (the monastery that you see), indicates that Xenos was actually showing the monastery of the Mother of God in Myriokephala to his companions when he referred to the property he acquired for it. The use of the demonstrative pronoun τοιαύτη in lines 52 (τὴν τοιαύτην μονήν) and 55 (τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς) where Xenos refers to the same monastery in Myriokephala, strengthens this interpretation. These elements might indicate that the original *Life* had been composed in this monastery where Xenos also died.⁵ It is also highly probable that since Xenos was very ill and might not have been able to write, he dictated the account of his life and deeds and the instructions for his foundations to one of his disciples who wrote them down. This person later composed from his notes the final text which Xenos had to sign. A similar practice is recorded in the *Life* of Lazaros of Mount Galesios.⁶ Lazaros was born at the end of the 10th century and died in 1053. He founded three monasteries at Mount Galesios, near Ephesos, and he organised the monastic life around them. His *Life* was written after his death by his disciple Gregory. According to his *Life* Lazaros after falling ill, called a *grammatikos* (secretary) in order to write a *diatyposis* (monastic foundation document) for the monastic foundations he established. The *grammatikos* wrote the *diatyposis* following Lazaros' instructions. This document included all necessary information for the monasteries he founded, their protection, and also instructions for the monks who would live there. When the

⁵ The internal references in the *Life* show that Ioannes Xenos went back to his main monastery where he probably died. This was a common practice of holy men that was imposed by practical reasons: at the end of their lives the holy men needed their disciples to take care of them. So, it seems very possible and sensible for Xenos to have returned to his main monastic foundation after falling ill. He would have stayed there to the end of his life and written his final will. For the oral tradition on Xenos' place of death, see Introduction and Appendix.

⁶ *Vita S. Lazari auctore Gregorio monacho* in *Acta sanctorum*, November 3, Paris 1863-1940, 508-588; the *Life* has been reworked by Gregory II of Cyprus (*Acta Sanctorum*, 588-606).

writing of the *diatyposis* was complete, Lazaros read it and gave his consent. He signed it just before dying with the help of one of his disciples.⁷

The simple language and style of the text of Ioannes Xenos' *Life*, the paratactic sentence structure and the *asyndeton* might also be indicative of the initial composition of the text from dictation. Complicated phrases with many subordinate clauses and verbal figures of speech do not characterise the speech of a person who is dying and wishes to express his final will. Phrases where the word order has been disturbed support this thesis; for example: ἄνω τοῦ ὄρους κτίσμα ἐλληνικὸν παμμέγεθες τοῦ λεγομένου Μυριοκεφάλου (ll. 40-41); ἐποίησα περιβόλιν - κατεφύτευσα καὶ ἀμπέλιν - ἔκτισα καὶ οἰκήματα - καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν πορίζεσθαι τὴν ἐφήμερον τροφήν αὐτῶν (ll. 81-85).⁸

Moreover, the composition of the original text from dictation can be supported by the orality reflected in the text, and also the narration gaps that are noted in the *Life*. Phrases that reflect an orality in the text include: ll. 14-15: ἰδοὺ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πάντα φανερώς γέγονα καὶ διατίθημι καὶ τί ἐπ' ἐμὲ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος δι' οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ ἀνεδείξατο (look, how I have arranged and manifestly set out everything regarding me, and what the holy God through his *oikonomia* revealed to me); ll. 15-16: Ἔχει δὲ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ οὕτως (and this is how matters regarding me stand); ll. 26-27: καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν λογισάμενος τί ἄρα ταῦτα εἰσίν (thinking to myself, what are these?)⁹; l. 103: κατεκόσμησα τὴν μονὴν ἣν ὁρᾶτε (I equipped the monastery that you see). In addition to these phrases, phrases that appear in inverted commas in the text should be taken also under consideration as their presence in the text strengthens the interplay between direct and indirect speech, which makes the account more vivid (cf. ll. 29-31, 43-44, 46-47, where voices coming from above order Xenos what to do). Vividness is also assigned to the narration with the use of phrases like καὶ λοιπὸν (ll. 11, 18, 126), ὅθεν κἀγώ (l. 12) and εἶτα (ll. 51, 82). Of special note is the phrase καὶ λοιπὸν ὦ ἀδελφοί (l. 11) which denotes that Xenos was addressing his speech

⁷ *Vita S. Lazari*, §246 (writing of the *diatyposis*) and 250 (signature of the *diatyposis*).

⁸ See relevant entries in the Commentary.

⁹ The conflation of direct and indirect speech is obvious in this phrase; cf. relevant entry in the Commentary.

to his disciples and companions¹⁰. The use of such words and phrases, usually found in oral accounts, helps the development of narration and also supports the orality reflected in the text once again.¹¹

The composition of the initial text from dictation might also be explained or justified by certain narrative gaps that exist throughout the account of the life and deeds of Xenos. Xenos does not mention how and if he became a monk himself¹², who was his spiritual father (if there was one), and also if he inherited any personal property from his family. Moreover, he does not mention getting permission from the local official ecclesiastical authorities for the building and the foundation of the churches and the monastic communities nor does he refer to the episcopal ordination required for the priests in his monastic foundations. It is worth considering how these narrative gaps can be explained. When Xenos decided to record the account of his life and last will at the end of his life, his main concern was to talk about the foundations and their properties and not about himself; he wanted to give instructions in order to safeguard the status of his establishments. He started though, talking about himself, referring to his birthplace, his parents and their financial situation, as he felt that he had to begin from somewhere and to narrate things in the order in which they happened. Thus all the events of his life would be mentioned in an order that made sense of them.

The probable dictation and time pressure under which Xenos had to compose his text, as he was dying, explain the existence of such narration gaps; Xenos delivered the absolutely essential stages of his life and deeds that were connected to the monastic

¹⁰ After the general introductory phrase about the forthcoming death, a phrase usually used in testaments, Xenos uses the phrase καὶ λοιπὸν ὃ ἀδελφοί, to address his disciples and start the narration of his own life and deeds. For the introductory phrase as used in testaments, see below.

¹¹ In addition, the use of certain adverbs and verbs with characteristic prepositions denotes in a very vivid way the topography of the island and Xenos' activities; the use of such words also helps to identify the journey of Xenos and his movements around the island; cf. Commentary entry on ll. 38-39.

¹² In the *Life* there is no reference of Xenos taking the monastic vows; there are though references of Xenos establishing monks which denotes that he should have been one himself. The beginning of his monastic life at the mountain of Lithines which was a place where holy men lived, implies that at that place he should have taken the monastic *schema*.

foundations he established, their status, and future life and disposition. He did not refer to more personal aspects of his life, like his education or who or what first inspired him to follow the monastic life. Despite the absence of such information, a logical order and sequence is found in his text.

The lack of quotations might be an additional element to support the dictation of Xenos' account and then its consequent proper composition. Special mention should be made of the first phrases of the text referring to God as the source of incorruption, to original sin and to the consequent fate of man to die (ll. 8-12). These phrases come from the Bible (*Genesis* and *Wisd. Sol.*) and they form a usual reference made at the beginning of testaments. Xenos should have known that practice and when he decided to record his final will, he chose to start his narration by this biblical reference addressed to his companions (cf. καὶ λοιπὸν ὧ ἄδελφοί, l. 11) and then by saying ὅθεν καὶ γώ (thus, I too) he continued with his life and deeds. However, it seems probable that either Xenos or the person who took the notes while Xenos was dictating, and composed the final text for signature, did not know the exact quotation by heart, and also did not have the time (or the relevant books) to check the Bible for the exact words of this quotation.¹³

The 1st person singular in which the *Life* is written, and internal elements referred above, indicate that the *Life* was delivered by Xenos at Myriokephala while he was dying. In addition, elements like the simple language and style of the text together with the paratactic sentence structure and the *asyndeton*, the orality reflected in the text, the narration gaps, and the lack of quotations might indicate that the *Life* had been dictated by Xenos at a first stage, and then a disciple of Xenos who was taking notes, composed the text for Xenos to sign.

However, despite the high probability of dictation, we cannot totally reject the possibility that Xenos wrote the text himself. If that was the case, it would reveal the level of his education; the language used and the lack of quotations seem to be unfavourable for Xenos' educational level. But this possibility seems to be very slight especially if we take under consideration the phrases that

¹³ This phrase appears to be problematic in the *Life*; cf. critical edition and relevant entry in the Commentary.

reflect orality and particularly the phrase καὶ λοιπὸν ὦ ἀδελφοί. This phrase belongs to oral speech and cannot be seen either as a verbal figure of speech or as a literary way of expressing directness in written accounts.

The text preserved in *Canonicus graecus 19* seems to correspond to a great extent to the account delivered by Xenos in the 11th century at the site of his main monastery recording his life and last will. However, the linguistic characteristics of the later Byzantine period that have penetrated in the text, indicate that the text also conformed to the language of the later period.

The text preserves through its internal original form characteristics that testify its origin from Xenos himself. The text survived throughout the centuries¹⁴ and the only thing that was affected was the language; linguistic elements of different periods penetrated into the text. The reasons why the text remained attached to the original text of the 11th century and no features other than the language ones changed throughout the centuries, are the following: the monastic establishments founded by Xenos wished to safeguard their status, their independence and properties, as is clearly recorded in the *Life* of Ioannes Xenos. The only way to achieve that was by the preservation and spreading of the original text composed by Xenos as this was the only written document containing all this important information; but this had to be done without altering its form and contents, so that nobody could accuse them of distorting or forging the original text. The text would also be kept intact and as original as possible for the indigenous population of the island of Crete. The people of Crete felt they were honoured by the presence and activity of such a person like Ioannes Xenos during the difficult and crucial years for Christianity after the reconquest of the island by the Byzantines.

¹⁴ It is worth mentioning though that very few copies have survived; for a listing of all the manuscripts that have been traced, see Introduction. It seems that only two of the five manuscripts, the *Canonicus graecus 19* and the manuscript that Buondelmonti saw in Tsourouniana, would have contained versions close to each other. The reasons for the preservation of so few manuscripts remain unknown. The fact that the main monastery of Xenos in Myriokephala was destroyed in the past and probably copies of Xenos' text were kept in there and consequently had been destroyed, might be a reason.

For the above reasons the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* remained a popular text for a long time, and thus its original character had been kept intact and close to the initial composition. The language though, with the word always being its most vulnerable element, was receptive to changes. Thus, the text preserved in *Canonicus graecus 19*, carries linguistic elements of a later period but remains also very close to the original text as internal elements testify.

The version of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* preserved in *Canonicus graecus 19* seems to be very close to the 11th century text; moreover, it is the only version of the text, which survives in manuscript today.

A second version of the *Life* was preserved in another, now lost manuscript, known as *Cisamensis*.¹⁵ This version is entitled "Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κυρ' Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ", and its main characteristics are the popular Greek in which it is written, and the narration in the 3rd person singular. It is interesting to note that the epithets *eremites* and *xenos* do not appear in the title of this later popular version. By the time this popular version was written, Ioannes Eremites, the holy man who lived in Crete in the 16th century, was known by this epithet (*eremites*) while Ioannes Xenos was widely known with the popular name kyr-Ioannes or kyr-Yiannis¹⁶. Thus, the elimination of those epithets from the title of the popular version of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* can be explained.

Of special interest and importance are the additional elements found in this version compared to the information provided from *Canonicus graecus 19* version regarding the life and deeds of Xenos.¹⁷ The most important are: the names of the emperors at the time of Xenos' birth, the date of his birth (970), a reference to the reconquest of Crete by Nikephoros Phokas in 961, the name of the emperor Romanos Argyropoulos whom Xenos visited and from whom he acquired the chrysobull, the building of a church and the subsequent organisation of a monastery in Akti, the date of the

¹⁵ For the text and the translation of this version of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* and a commentary, see Appendix.

¹⁶ See Introduction.

¹⁷ For the additional elements, the differences of the two versions of the *Life of Xenos*, and a discussion, see Appendix.

testament's composition, and the signatures of a *notarios* (notary) and two *strategoï* who confirmed the *testament*. The building of the church and the monastery in Akti by Xenos derives from the oral tradition connected with Xenos which attributes to him the foundation of more buildings and his connection to places which he actually never visited. It might be risky to say that Xenos never built a church in Akti. However, no sources or archaeological evidence testify to such a monastic foundation built by Xenos. Moreover, if he had done so, he would have included it in his text and this piece of information would have survived in *Canonicus'* version as well.

It is apparent that *Cisamensis'* version is a later literary composition (18th-19th century). This is proved by the following elements: a. The date found in the manuscript Tomadakis consulted, was 1844; and this manuscript was a copy of a manuscript bearing the year 1703 as its date of composition;¹⁸ and b. the popular Greek in which this version is written.

The 3rd person singular in which this popular version is written, together with the additional elements, and especially the dates and emperors' names, and the reference to the reconquest of Crete by Nikephoros Phokas, makes this version a less personal record than the one in *Canonicus graecus* 19, and gives the account a "historic character and value".

The composition of this version is due to historical reasons. In contrast to the *Canonicus'* version which was written to safeguard the status of the monasteries and their property, *Cisamensis'* version had a historic reason; to record the life and deeds of Ioannes Xenos for future generations. The status of the monasteries Xenos founded had changed and disasters had occurred for these monasteries.¹⁹ The main monastery of Xenos in Myriocephala was

¹⁸ See Appendix, section 1, "The *Life of Ioannes Xenos* as preserved in *Cisamensis* (18th-19th century)".

Although the text preserved in *Cisamensis* bears as its first date 1703, the later date (1844) of its copying should be taken into account when referring to the dating of this literary composition. The greek in which the text is written, is characteristic of these later centuries and also after that serial copying it is not possible for us to know whether the 1703 text had been copied exactly as it was in the manuscript of 1844, or different elements (linguistic or other) have penetrated into the text.

¹⁹ See Commentary, relevant entries on the monastic foundations of Xenos, for references to their history.

destroyed by the Turks in 1770. It seems possible that the popular versions of Xenos (including the version located in Myriokephala in 1922 and edited by Leledakis²⁰) were produced during these later centuries as the people of the island wanted to safeguard their cultural identity and tradition.

That is why the recording of the *Life* in the 3rd person singular did not matter so much. Moreover, additional information like the names of the emperors when Xenos was born, the date of his birth, the historic reference to the Byzantine reconquest of Crete, and the name of the emperor Romanos Argyropoulos from whom Xenos acquired the chrysobull, was made for future readers to form a more complete idea of Xenos and his monastic activities on the island. Thus, we have a clear view of what was known during these later centuries (18th-19th centuries) about Xenos and his activities.

The date of the composition of Xenos' *testament* as this appears in the popular version of *Cisamensis* (Μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ κ'. Ἀπὸ κρίσεως κόσμου 6536, ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1031) presents some discrepancies. The year 6536 corresponds to A.D. 1027 and not A.D. 1031. Moreover, Romanos Argyropoulos' dates of reign (1028-1034) do not correspond to 1027.²¹ The earliest that Xenos could have gone to Constantinople is the year 1025, the first year of the patriarchate of Alexios the Studite (1025-1043) whose name is mentioned in both *Canonicus*' and *Cisamensis*' versions. Coming back from the capital city Xenos reorganised his already established foundations with the new acquisitions brought with him; built three more churches (the church of the Mother of God in Koufos, the church of Saint Georgios in Azogyreas and Saint Pavlos on the south coast of western Crete); organised the life around the first two since the third one was an oratory at a remote area; and also withdrew to Akti to find *eremia* and *hesychia*.²² All these activities would have taken him more than six years (from 1025 to 1031) and certainly more than two (1025-1027). Thus, it seems most probable that the recording of his life, deeds and final will would have taken place later than 1031.

²⁰ See Introduction.

²¹ See Appendix.

²² cf. ll. 102ff. of the text.

The names (signatures) of a *notarios*, and two *strategoi*, which appear at the end of the text might have been added in this popular version to give more historic value, importance and glamour. The *Life* was worthy and important for historical reasons of that period of time and not for "real" reasons like the status of the monasteries and its properties. However, the possibility that these names were recorded in an earlier and now lost version of the *Life*, cannot be totally rejected. Their presence though at the initial recording of Xenos' life and final will does not seem very possible; Xenos would have referred to them and this reference would have been preserved in *Canonicus*' version as well because of their importance. There is of course the possibility that a copy of Xenos' initial text was signed and sealed by the official authorities of the island immediately after his death.²³ A similar practice is recorded in the *Life* of Lazaros of Mount Galesios where the holy man assures his disciples that his *diatyposis* was going to be signed and sealed as it has to.²⁴

The text preserved in *Canonicus graecus 19* seems to be very close to the initial text delivered by Xenos in the 11th century. Its composition aimed to safeguard the monastic foundations he created. Moreover, it seems that it had been composed in a hurry and at dictation. The fact that Xenos decided to record his will about his monastic establishments shows that he was aware of this practice, i.e. of the founders' recording their will for their monasteries' disposition and future life. Xenos might have been in touch with the local official ecclesiastical hierarchy²⁵ and thus, he should have been informed that this was the practice that he had to follow. Moreover, his trip to Constantinople and the acquisition of the chrysobull and the privileges for his monastic foundations from the imperial and patriarchal authorities would have given him extra guidelines regarding his monasteries, their disposition and his behaviour regarding them; additionally, the imperial and

²³ On the presence of these signatures and a discussion, see Appendix.

²⁴ *Vita S. Lazari*, §223 (διατύπωσης γενέσθαι ἔχει καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης μέλλουσιν αὐτὴν ὀψεσθαι).

²⁵ See Chapter 2.

patriarchal documents brought with him from the capital city to Crete would have contained words and phrases that he later might have used in his text.

The text which records the life, deeds and will of Ioannes Xenos and which is preserved in *Canonicus graecus 19*, contains elements that characterise three different types of texts: *life*, *testament* and monastic foundation document (*typikon*).

The text, although entitled as *Life and Conduct* (Βίος καὶ πολιτεία)²⁶, contains autobiographical elements and the person to whom its composition is attributed, describes his own life and deeds; it is a narrative account that starts from the holy man's birth and reaches the final moments of his life. Characteristic is the phrase γονέων γὰρ γέγονα πλουσίων ἀπὸ χωρίου τοῦ λεγομένου Σίβα (I was born of rich parents [coming] from a village called Siva) with which the account starts after the introductory phrases.²⁷

The introductory phrases of the text with the reference to God as the source of incorruption, to original sin and to the consequent fate of man to die (ll. 8-12) are typical phrases with which testaments usually begin. Moreover, with the phrase of line 130 τοῦτο διορίζομαι καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσι (this I pronounce clearly and command to all) Xenos states emphatically that the following phrases contain his final will. The curse at the end (ll. 136-140) against the persons who might not obey and follow his will for his foundations, strengthens the text's character of testamentary provisions.

And finally, the text contains elements usually found in *typika* since it refers to the status of the monastic foundations established by Xenos, the founder, defines their inter-relations, and

²⁶ For the entitlement of the account as a *Life* and not as an *Autobiography*, see below.

²⁷ The plethora of autobiographical elements has misled scholars to suppose that the text is important as a revival of the genre of autobiography in the 11th century; see A. Kazhdan, "Xenos, John", *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York-Oxford 1991, vol. 3, 2209. Autobiographical, though, elements are present in other texts as well, which were written in order to safeguard the status of monastic foundations, e.g. the *Diataxis* of Michael Attaleiates (1077); P. Gautier, "La Diataxis de Michel Attaliat", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 39 (1981), 5-143, esp. 17ff.

Michael Angold in his recent article "The Autobiographical Impulse in Byzantium", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 52 (1998), 225-257, esp. 229, considers the text of Xenos as a testament with autobiographical elements ("The needs of a monastic leader turned a will into a vehicle for autobiography").

also lists their property. Words and phrases usually found in monastic foundation documents appear in the text, e.g. τοῦ εἶναι ταύτην ἀνέπαφον ἀπὸ παντὸς καὶ παντοίου ἀρχοντικοῦ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ προσώπου (ll. 93-95); μηδ' ὅλως ἔχειν τὸν κατὰ χώραν μητροπολίτην ἢ τινα τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐπισχέσθαι εἰς τὰ δίκαια τῆς μονῆς ἢ εἰς ἃ προσεκτησάμην (ll. 95-96); τὸ καθόλου εἶναι πάντα αὐτοδέσποτα καὶ κύρια ὑπὸ χεῖρας εἶναι τῆς δηλωθείσης μονῆς (ll. 99-100); and μόνην τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου καὶ οὕτως τοὺς καθεξῆς (ll. 100-101). It should be noted though that the text does not refer to the liturgical observances of the monastic communities, and also it does not contain information regarding the rules of behaviour within these communities; but this does not make it of less importance, nor does it eliminate its importance and function.

Thus, the text of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* is a literary product which combines features of three literary genres whose combination is the result of its composition.

The conditions under which the text was written, i.e. the time pressure since Xenos was about to die, together with his partial ignorance about the composition of such texts, might be the reasons for the creation of this literary product with mixed characteristics. Xenos knew he had to write a testament and that's why he starts and finishes his account with phrases that are used in such texts. But it seems that as he did not know how to display the elements he was thinking of, he decided to record his life from its very beginning; consequently autobiographical elements were inserted in his text. His limited knowledge about monastic foundation documents is obvious from the text and is justified by the documents he had acquired from Constantinople and the guidelines he might have received from the official ecclesiastical authorities in Crete and Constantinople.

The mixture of characteristics imply that although Xenos knew about the practice of testamentary provisions and *typika*, he did not know what to do exactly. It does not seem that he had read similar texts; if that was the case, he would have had a prototype to follow and his text would not have combined all these different elements. Xenos, a man with a practical turn of mind and foresight wrote one text in which he included everything that he wanted, and time and conditions permitted him.

At this point another element has to be noted: the phrase in lines 109-110 of the text, ἃ καὶ ἐγράφησαν, ἐπεβράβευσαν (these that were also written down, were registered [and approved]), might be a reference to the existence of a *brebion* (list of property of the monastic foundations usually following a *typikon*). There are two possibilities regarding the existence of such a document: 1. as Xenos did not have time to compose a *brebion* as well, he put this reference in the text, placed after the references to the property acquired for the monastery in order to safeguard these properties after their listing in his text; and 2. there is also the possibility that a *brebion* had been composed earlier (for it to exist together with the chrysobull) and Xenos inserted this reference in the *Life* as a reminder of this document's existence.

Having already the documents from the imperial and patriarchal authorities, and probably a *brebion*, Xenos decided to summarise all his activity in a text that he wrote before dying. He felt the need of creating a new document as he wanted to contain in it information on the three churches he built after his trip to Constantinople and their property.²⁸ This information was not contained in the previous documents, and by this new document Xenos extended the privileges he had acquired to these newly founded establishments.

The phrase Βίος καὶ πολιτεία (Life and Conduct) appears as the title of Xenos' literary product. It is highly probable that the title was added sometime later at the beginning of the text. However, it does not seem impossible that the title was added at the time of the initial composition of the text recording the life and final will of Xenos in Myriokephala either written by Xenos himself or dictated by him. Although the text carries characteristics of a testament and a *typikon*, the elements of a *Life* seem to be more strong. The whole narration follows Xenos' life, from the moment of his birth to the period just before his death. Thus, it is not impossible for the present title to have been chosen by the author of the text back in the 11th century.

The fact that the text was not called an autobiography, might be another supportive element in favour of the initial composition of the text upon dictation. The person who took notes while Xenos

²⁸ See above.

was dictating and finally composed the text for Xenos to sign, entitled it *Life and Conduct* precisely because he was the one to compose it, and not Xenos.

The *Life of Ioannes Xenos* was a text of great importance to the monastic foundations Xenos created, and also to the island of Crete and its population. Its inclusion in *Canonicus graecus 19* might indicate that the place of the production of the above manuscript was the island of Crete. The presence of an autograph letter in folio 122^v of *Canonicus graecus 19* by Nikolaos Kladios, a *notarios* (scribe) of Rethymnon (ca. 1465)²⁹ is very strong evidence that *Canonicus graecus 19* was copied in Crete.³⁰ Moreover, the use of the augment η instead of the augment ϵ that is noted throughout the text can be considered as another piece of evidence as to the place of the text's composition. This type of augment is a particular characteristic of the island of Crete.³¹

²⁹ See item no. 13 of the manuscript's contents in Chapter 4. 1.

³⁰ During the 15th century important *scriptoria* existed in Crete which played a decisive role in the transmission and diffusion of the texts of ancient Greek and Byzantine literature. Numerous names of 15th century copyists have come down to us; among these some were refugees from Constantinople who fled the capital city after its fall in 1453; on copyists and *scriptoria*, see Ch. G. Patrinelis, "Ελληνες κωδικογράφοι τῶν χρόνων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως", *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου* 8-9 (1958-1959), 63-125; and Th. Detorakis, "Ἀγνωστοὶ Κρήτες κωδικογράφοι τῆς Βενετοκρατίας", *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Η' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Ἡράκλειο 1997)* (forthcoming), for new names of copyists and a detailed study on *scriptoria* in the island of Crete during the 15th-17th centuries.

³¹ See Chapter 3.1, grammar section, p. 80, note 34.

Chapter four

The manuscript tradition

1. Manuscript tradition

The text of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* is preserved in a unique manuscript, which will be described both codicologically and palaeographically. A palaeographical study of the text of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* and a note on the previous editions and the conventions adopted in the present edition follow.

*O Oxoniensis Bodleianus Canonicius graecus 19*¹

2nd half of 15th-1st half of 16th century; paper; 315 numbered ff. + I-IV; 200x140 mm.

The codex contains Sermons by John Chrysostom, Proclus Patriarch of Constantinople, Pseudo-Methodius of Patara, Basil of Caesarea, Athanasius of Alexandria, Germanus I Patriarch of Constantinople, Paul of Monembasia, Amphilochius of Iconium, Niphon of Athos, Ephraim the Syrian, Macarius of Egypt, Zosimus

¹ The manuscript has been described originally by H. Coxe, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, pars tertia, codices graecos et latinos Canonicianos*, Oxford 1854, 22-8 (reprinted with corrections by N. Wilson from the edition of 1854 in H.O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library. Quarto Catalogues. I. Greek Manuscripts*, Oxford 1969, 22-8). Subsequent scholars who worked on the manuscript, based themselves on Coxe's description: C. Van de Vorst et H. Delehay, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Graecorum Germaniae, Belgii, Angliae* (Subsidia Hagiographica, XIII), Brussels 1913, 358-60, who give a list of the hagiographical works contained in the manuscript; and Michel Aubineau, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci; I: Codices Britanniae et Hiberniae* (Documents, Études et Répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, XIII), Paris 1968, 202-3, who provides a list of texts in the manuscript attributed to John Chrysostom. All three scholars described the manuscript by giving its main characteristics very briefly (date, material, dimensions, number of folios, number of written lines per page, number of hands). Van de Vorst-Delehay and Aubineau got based on Coxe's description resulting in following and carrying his mistakes and misreadings; main problems in Coxe's description occurred due to the double numbering of the folios as well as the missing and misplaced folios (see below); thus, the identification of the texts contained in the manuscript was affected to a large extent.

On the codex, see also F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. IV, Oxford 1897, 313-15; Hippolyte Delehay, *Deux typica byzantins de l' époque des Paléologues*, 16-7; Albert Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 3, Leipzig 1937, 768.

In the present description misreadings and mistakes of the previously mentioned scholars regarding the manuscript have been tacitly corrected.

and other desert Fathers; Saints' *Lives* and *Passions* of Martyrs; two apocryphal texts, the Gospel according to James and Abraham's Testament; Narrations on the discovery of the Holy Cross by Saint Helen, on the decapitation of John the Baptist, and miracles of Saint George with versicles (*stichera*); Questions and Answers on the Gospel; a list of the twelve Apostles; part of Matthaios Blastaris' *Syntagma of Ecclesiastical Canons*; a letter by the *notarios* Nikolaos Kladios (ca. 1465); and etymologies of the letters of the alphabet.²

BINDING

Modern binding with no indication of date, on beige cardboard, 205x140 mm. Stains of black ink which has faded to dark brown, appear on the surface. The spine, 58 mm. in width, is covered by dark brown leather bearing light brown stains, and is divided with six raised split cords; the spine is decorated with eight parallel lines of gold, 1 mm. width each, impressed on the edges of the cords. On the upper part of the spine, under the 2nd cord, a rectangular label, 31x51 mm., of yellow-brown leather with golden decorative stripes on its top and bottom contains the summary title of contents of the manuscript in gold impressed letters: *SS. PP. ORAT. | PRAES. S. J. CHRYS. | ET VITAE SS. | COD. GRAEC.* [= *Sanctorum patrum orationes, praesertim Sancti Johannis Chrysostomi et Vitae Sanctorum, codex graecus*]. Two rectangular light brown paper labels of smaller size, printed in black ink, which has faded for the most part, have been also placed on the lower part of the spine; they are badly preserved. The first label, 19x28 mm., covering the 6th line of the spine, bears the name of the manuscript collection, *Canonici | <G>r.* [= *Canonici Graeci*], and the second, 13x20 mm., placed between the 7th and 8th lines, the present number of the manuscript, *<1>9*.

² For an analytical description of the contents, see below.

FOLIO NUMBERING

The manuscript consists of 315 numbered leaves, bearing double numbering, plus the front and back pastedown leaves, and four flyleaves (I-IV)³.

Two hands have numbered the folios in Arabic numerals using black ink. The first hand numbered the folios on the recto folio on the right top margin, using a larger ductus, while the second hand numbered the folios once more using a thinner ductus and placing the numbers on the right hand corner of the page.⁴ The first hand numbered consecutively ff. 1-136, inadvertently omitting numbering f. 137 (thus numbering f. 136 and next 138), ff. 138-190, repeating no. 190 on two folios following f. 189 (the present ff. 190 and 190a), ff. 191-245, omitting numbering two folios following f. 245 (245a and 245b), and ff. 246-313. At some stage, after the first folio numbering, f. 8 was misplaced after f. 63. The second hand numbered consecutively ff. 1-315, giving the original f. 8 the number 64. In the original quire composition of the manuscript f. 105 preceded f. 72. Additionally, six folios have dropped out, that is, a single folio following f. 71, four folios following f. 75, and a single folio following f. 122.

³ For information on the manuscript's provenance contained on the pastedown leaves, see below, Marginal notes and additions by later hands, p. 121.

⁴ In f. 315^v the page number 315 appears in the middle bottom of the page; it is written by a later hand using a thick ductus and black ink which is quite similar to the one who wrote in the right margin of folio 1 *Raccolta di diversi sermoni in greco volgare*; see Marginal notes and additions by later hands, pp. 120-121.

The following table illustrates the original state and the two later numberings of the folios:

<i>Original state of folios</i>	<i>First folio nos.</i>	<i>Second folio nos.</i>
1 - 7	1 - 7	1 - 7
8		
9 - 64	9 - 64	8 - 63
	8 (misplaced)	64 (originally f. 8, misplaced)
65 - 71	65 - 71	65 - 71
a single folio missing, <71a>		
105		
72 - 75	72 - 75	72 - 75
four folios missing, <75a-75d>		
76 - 122	76 - 122	76 - 122
a single folio missing, <122a>		
123 - 136	123 - 136	123 - 136
	omitted numbering f. 137	
137 - 189	138 - 190	137 - 189
190	numbering two folios 190	
190a - 245	190a - 245	190 - 245
245a, 245b - 247	omitted numbering two folios (245a - 245b)	246 - 247
248 - 315	246 - 313	248 - 315

In the present description the second folio numbering is followed.

GATHERINGS

The codex consists of 40 numbered *quaternia* of even size. The gatherings are signed by two different hands in Greek numerals (bearing a dash on their top⁵). Though in most gatherings the numbers in the first recto and the last verso folio appear clearly, in some they are not at all visible (gatherings θ', ι', and λγ') while in others only traces are visible, as the folios have been trimmed to fit the dimensions of the codex. The first hand used black ink and placed the numbers in the upper right-hand corner at the front, and in the middle bottom margin at the back, of each *quaternion*⁶. The second hand used red ink to add the numbering of 19 *quaternia* starting from the 13th *quaternion*⁷.

Thus: α': 1x4 (1-7 + f. 64, which has been misplaced following f. 63, originally numbered 8; it also bears on its verso the gathering no. α'); β': 2x4 (8-15); γ': 3x4 (16-23); δ': 4x4 (24-31); ε': 5x4 (32-39); ζ': 6x4 (40-47; the gathering no. ζ' appears twice on f. 40); ζ': 7x4 (48-55); η': 8x4 (56-63; the gathering no. η' appears twice on f. 56); <θ'> : 9x4 (65-71 + 1 folio missing <71a>); <ι'> : 10x4 (105 + 72-75 + 3 folios missing, <75a-75c>); ια': 11x4 (a single folio missing <75d> + 76-82); ιβ': 12x4 (83-90); ιγ': 13x4 (91-98); ιδ': 14x4 (99-104, 106-107); ιε': 15x4 (108-115); ις': 16x4 (116-122 + 1 folio missing <122a>); ιζ': 17x4 (123-130); ιη': 18x4 (131-138); ιθ': 19x4 (139-146); κ': 20x4 (147-154); κα': 21x4 (155-162); κβ': 22x4 (163-170); κγ': 23x4 (171-178); κδ': 24x4 (179-186); κε': 25x4 (187-194);

⁵ There are three gathering numbers written in black ink that are slightly decorated with small lines and dots around them (η' at the front recto folio of the gathering and ιγ' and ιε' at the back verso folio of the gathering).

⁶ The original numbering in black ink is evident in *quaternia*: α' (back of *quaternion*), β' (front & back of *quaternion*), γ' (front & back), δ' (front & back), ε' (front & back), ζ' (front & back; on the front, ζ' appears also in the middle bottom margin), ζ' (front & back), η' (front & back; on the front, η' appears also in the middle bottom margin), ια' (back), ιβ' (back), ιγ' (back), ιδ' (back), ιε' (back), ις' (traces at back), ιη' (traces at back), ιθ' (back), κ' (traces at back), κα' (back), κβ' (traces at back), λβ' (traces at front), λδ' (half visible at front & back), λε' (front & back), λς' (half visible at front & traces at back), λζ' (half visible at front), λη' (front & back), λθ' (back), μ' (front).

⁷ The numbering in red ink is evident in *quaternia*: ιγ' (front), ιε' (half visible at front), ις' (front), ις' (traces at front & back), ιη' (traces at front & back), ιθ' (front), κ' (back), κα' (front), κβ' (front & back), κγ' (front & back), κδ' (front & back), κε' (front & back), κς' (front & back), κζ' (front & back), κη' (front & back), κθ' (front & back), λ' (front & back), λα' (front), λβ' (front & back).

κς': 26x4 (195-202); κζ': 27x4 (203-210); κη': 28x4 (211-218); κθ': 29x4 (219-226); λ': 30x4 (227-234); λα': 31x4 (235-242); λβ': 32x4 (243-250); <λγ'> : 33x4 (251-258); λδ': 34x4 (259-266); λε': 35x4 (267-274); λς': 36x4 (275-282); λζ': 37x4 (283-290); λη': 38x4 (291-298); λθ': 39x4 (299-306); μ': 40x4 (307-314); f. 315 (which was added to the codex at a later stage).

PAPER

The manuscript is composed of paper leaves of medium quality and well preserved for the greatest part, despite some worm holes towards the edges of the codex, which have not affected or destroyed the written surface. Some folios, especially of the second half of the manuscript (following f. 148), which were affected by worm on their edges, have been restored by white paper tape. Certain folios, however, are partly destroyed⁸ or have been torn out⁹. A single folio (f. 65) appears in smaller size.

The following watermarks appear in folios of the manuscript:

1. *Scissors*: ff. 1-7, 65 (originally f. 8)¹⁰; very similar to Briquet¹¹, no. 3764, attested on Italian paper, dated 1454-1468.
2. *Flower with three petals*: ff. 8-39¹²; almost identical to Briquet, no. 6306, attested mainly on Italian paper, dated 1438-1455.
3. *Scissors with double hand*: ff. 40-98¹³ (with the exception of bifolio 78~79, which bears the watermark *letter R*; see right below), bifolio 111~112; very similar to Briquet, no. 3663, attested on Italian and German paper, dated 1445-1453.
4. *Letter R*: bifolio 78~79; the watermark remains unidentified.

⁸ Folio 64 (originally the misplaced f. 8), is torn vertically and only 1/5 of it is missing; however, it has been restored by pasting a second piece of white paper. Folio 76 has a hole in the right margin.

⁹ Folio 105 (originally placed before f. 72) is torn vertically, though no text is missing. Folio 123 is slightly torn in the right margin.

¹⁰ Bifolios 1~64, 2~7.

¹¹ C.M. Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1923; repr. N. York, 1966, 1985.

¹² Bifolios 8~15, 10~13, 16~23, 18~21, 25~30, 27~28, 33~38, 34~37.

¹³ Bifolios 40~47, 43~44, 48~55, 51~52, 57~62, 58~61, 65~<71a>, 68~69, 72~<75b>, 74~75, 76~81, 83~90, 86~87, 93~96, 94~95.

5. *Siren holding her two tails*: ff. 99-130¹⁴ (with the exception of bifolio 111~112 bearing the watermark with the *scissors with double hand*), bifolio 173~176; almost identical to Briquet, no. 13870, attested on Italian paper, dated 1442.
6. *Crown*: ff. 139-170¹⁵; similar to Briquet, no. 4811, attested on Italian paper, dated 1515(?); cf. also no. 4714 (with round rather than foliated edges), attested on Italian paper, dated 1424-1451.
7. *Scissors (with simpler handling)*: ff. 171-186 (with the exception of bifolio 173~176 bearing the watermark with the *Siren*) and also ff. 227-266; quite similar to Briquet, no. 3744, attested on Italian and French paper, dated 1446-1463, and less similar to no. 3741, attested on Italian paper, dated 1443-1446.
8. *Scissors*, as above, *with an S in the opening of the scissors*: ff. 267-314; the watermark remains unidentified. It is interesting to note that paper bearing the above two watermarks (nos. 7 and 8) appear interchangeably from gathering 25 (ff. 187-194) to gathering 29 (ff. 219-226)¹⁶.

SCRIPT AND LAYOUT OF THE TEXT

The text was copied consecutively in single columns of 22 lines (with the exception of ff. 123-314^v with 22-30 lines) by seven (7) hands¹⁷.

The script adopts the style of the scriptorium of the monastery τῶν Ὁδηγῶν in Constantinople. This style flourished between the 3rd/4th decade of the 14th century and the 16th

¹⁴ Bifolios 100~106, 102~103, 109~114, 116~<122a>, 119~120, 123~130, 126~127.

¹⁵ Bifolios 140~145, 142~143, 147~154, 150~151, 158~159, 166~167.

¹⁶ Thus, the watermark with the *scissors (with simpler handling)* is found in bifolios 172~177, 179~186, 180~185, 189~192, 204~209, 213~216, 227~234, 229~232, 236~241, 238~239, 244~249, 245~248, 252~257, 253~256, 261~264, 262~263; while the watermark with the *scissors with the letter S in the opening of the scissors* is found in bifolios 188~193, 195~202, 198~199, 206~207, 214~215, 219~226, 221~224, 267~274, 269~272, 276~281, 278~279, 285~288, 286~287, 292~297, 294~295, 299~306, 302~303, 308~313, 310~311.

¹⁷ The hands of subscriptions, marginal notes and additions as well as the last single folio 315 are not included; for these, see below, Subscriptions and *ex libris*; Marginal notes and additions by later hands.

century¹⁸. It is an aesthetically pleasing and attractive script with great freedom in movement. The enlarged and round formation of letters, the interchange of capital and lowercase letter-forms and the proportion between vertical and diagonal lines, as well as the characteristic way that letters, ligatures and abbreviations extend beyond the margins of the written surface, reveals also a sense of confidence and imagination. Symmetrical colophons, in the shape of letter V, which mark the close of several texts, add to the aesthetic appearance of the manuscript (ff. 127, 144^v, 152, 152^v, 160^v, 182^v, 190, 214^v, 232^v, 289). There are also some symmetrical colophons in the shape of a cross (ff. 122, 157^v, 165), and in a single case the colophon is formed in the shape of lozenges (f. 283^v). The most striking element, common to all seven scribes, is the extensive spelling mistakes, mainly due to *parethesis*¹⁹.

All seven hands that contributed to the copying of the manuscript, have used black ink which has faded to dark brown:

A ff. 1- 10^v, line 16 (... ὁζωντ(α)·); ff. 11-34 ^v, line 4 (... κα |⁴ λὸν); ff. 37^v-38, line 5; f. 64^r^v. This first hand copied in single columns of 20-22 lines per page and 23-28 letters per line; written surface 135x80 mm.; marginal space: top 15 mm., bottom 30 mm., right 30 mm., left 15 mm. In f. 37, which has been copied by scribe **B**, **A** has added the word (αὐτῶ) in the bottom margin. **A** also made additions in folios copied by himself, using 5-6 dots forming a circle both within the text and the margin to denote the additions made²⁰.

B f. 10^v, lines 16 (κατὰ γὰρ...)-l. 22 (...ἀσθενοί [leg. ἀσθενεῖ]); ff. 34^v, line 4 (μη δάκνεσθαι ...)-f. 37, last line (... παραδράμωμεν). This

¹⁸ The basic study on this style is done by L. Politis, "Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster τῶν Ὁδηγῶν", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 51 (1958), 17-36, 261-287; see also, H. Hunger-O. Kresten, "Archaisierende Minuskel und Hodegonstil im 14.Jh.", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 29 (1980), 187-236; references to this style in H. Hunger, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*, Munich 1989, 106.

Specimens of this style can be found in Ruth Barbour, *Greek Literary Hands, A.D. 400-1600*, Oxford 1981, 16, plate 59; and Ernst Gamillscheg-Dieter Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, vol. 1 (Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens), Vienna 1981 (nos. 53, 208, 273, 386), and vol. 2 (Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens), Vienna 1989 (nos. 14, 371, 510, 522).



¹⁹ Cf. the titles, *incipits* and *desinitis* of the contents of the manuscript, where the spelling mistakes have not been corrected.

²⁰ The marginal additions read as follows: f. 7 (right margin): τ(ήν) χιρα [leg. χεῖρα] τ(ῆς) Σαλ(ώ)μ(ης) εν σπηλ(αίω); f. 9 (right margin): ἔος Κυριακ(ῆς).

second hand copied the text in single columns of 22 lines per page and 21-24 letters per line; written surface 135x75 mm.; marginal space: top 15 mm., bottom 30 mm., right 30 mm., left 15 mm. In line 6 of f. 24, which has been written by scribe **A**, **B** corrected the first scribe who wrote $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha \mid \gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ for the word $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha} \mid \gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ by crossing out $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$ and replacing it with $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}$ (the letter π is characteristic of scribe **B**). **B** also added a *diaeresis* on the word $\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon$ that precedes the word $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$.

C f. 38, line 6 and continued until f. 63^v, copying also ff. 65-71^v. The text is copied in single columns of 22 lines per page and 24-30 letters per line; written surface 135x80 mm.; marginal space: top 5-10 mm., bottom 35-40 mm., right 35 mm., left 10 mm. Additions by **C** appear in margins of the folios he copied using the same sign as **A** to mark these additions²¹.

D ff. 105, which originally preceded f. 72, 72-75^v; and probably the missing folios <75a-75d>. The text is copied in single columns of 22 lines per page and 26-34 letters per line; written surface 130x80 mm.; marginal space: top 10-15 mm., bottom 30-35 mm., right 35 mm., left 10 mm.

E ff. 76-104^v; 106-122. The text is copied in single columns of 22 lines per page and 32-38 letters per line; written surface 135x80 mm.; marginal space: top 10 mm., bottom 30 mm., right 30 mm., left 10 mm. His most characteristic ligatures appear extending into the bottom margins, e.g. $\tau\omicron$ () and $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ ().

F ff. 123-314^v. The text is copied in single columns of 22-30 lines per page and 26-34 letters per line; written surface 130x80 mm.; marginal space: top 20 mm., bottom 20 mm., right 30 mm., left 15 mm. Two additions by scribe **F** appear in margins of the folios which he copied, employing the same sign for denoting the corresponding words in the text, as scribes **A** and **C**²². Scribe **F** uses also the abbreviated signs of $C\eta(\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\sigma\alpha\iota)$ or $C\eta\mu(\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\sigma\alpha\iota)$ ²³.

²¹ The marginal additions read as follows: f. 39 (right margin): $\eta \ \xi\kappa\lambda\iota\ldots(?)$; f. 39^v (left margin): $\omicron \ \upsilon\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta(\omega\nu) \mid \tau(\eta\nu) \ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau(\iota\nu)$; this addition is used as a title, the article \omicron is rubricated, and the sign for the addition is not used; f. 46^v (bottom margin): $\xi\zeta \omicron\upsilon(\rho\alpha)\nu\omicron\upsilon$.

²² The marginal additions read as follows: f. 189^v (top margin, the sign of the addition used): $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon \ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$; 227^v (left margin): $\Pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\chi(\omega\mu\epsilon\nu)$ with Π rubricated.

²³ Ff. 227^v and 229.

G f. 122^v. The text is copied in one single column of 22 lines and 36-42 letters per line; written surface 135x90 mm.; marginal space: top 10 mm., bottom 30 mm., right 10 mm., left 20 mm. This seventh, rather unattractive hand, must have copied the rest of the text in the missing folio <122a>²⁴.

The last folio of the codex (f. 315) has been copied by a different scribe (**L**)²⁵.

A remarkable division of the manuscript into two parts is noted: (a) ff. 123-314^v are all by one hand (**F**), and (b) ff. 1-122^v have been written by six different hands. Moreover, both parts finish mutilated: (a) the first "half" (ff. 1-122^v) finishes mutilated in an autograph letter in a recognisable hand, that of Nikolaos Kladios (**G**), and (b) the second "half" (ff. 123-314^v) finishes mutilated in a sermon of Ephraim. Despite this remarkable division of the manuscript into two parts, there is conclusive evidence that the manuscript was planned as a single book with consecutive gathering numbers (see above) and uniform decorative system (see below). Thus, this manuscript was the product of one *scriptorium*.

ORNAMENTATION

Most of the texts are introduced by ornamental headpieces, slightly enlarged headings and elaborate, usually rubricated, initials²⁶ in black or red or both colours of ink. The headpieces vary in pattern and elaboration²⁷. In general terms two types can be distinguished: a. Rectangular, symmetrical and geometric, which consist of repeat curvilinear patterns of branching-scroll (ff. 215, 268 and 278^v), curvilinear triangle (ff. 87, 157^v, 183 with the simplest form, and 184), guilloche (ff. 5^v, 66^v, 203^v and 289), as well as curvilinear running patterns forming larger and more elaborate headpieces (ff. 1, 23^v, 71^v, 105^v, 123, 128^v, 145, 152,

²⁴ For this scribe, see Contents of the manuscript, item no. 13.

²⁵ For this scribe, see Subscriptions and *ex libris*, pp. 116-118.

²⁶ Only three texts are introduced without these characteristics: the *Ecclesiastical Canons*, starting in f. 38; the list with the names of the Apostles, f. 127; and the etymologies of the letters of the alphabet, ff. 127-128. Rubrics were used, however, in the form of dots to separate the names of the Apostles, and the letters of the alphabet.

²⁷ The most elaborate headpiece is the one in f. 165^v which forms the capital letter T and includes in it the title of the text.

161, 190^v); they usually cover the full space of 1-4 lines. b. Headpieces with less symmetry and floral patterns (ff. 7^v, 30^v, 75^v, 186^v, 197, 217^v, 233, 238^v, 257^v, 260^v, 261^v, 273^v, 284, 294^v, 313^v); they usually cover the full space of 1-3 lines leaving an empty space in the middle. Most headpieces appear in black and red ink, though it seems that the rubricator left unfinished certain headpieces which appear only in black ink. (ff. 183 and 294^v which is partly rubricated).²⁸

Separate decorative motifs appear in the part of the manuscript copied by scribe E, placed between paragraphs, in margins and areas with free space. They were designed by the hand of the rubricator or by the scribe himself. Most of these motifs resemble floral patterns that appear also in the headpieces, or strapworks (ff. 88^r^v, 90^v, 92^v, 94^r^v, 95^r^v, 97^r^v, 98, 99^r^v, 101, 102^v, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109^v, 110^r^v, 111^r^v, 112^r^v, 113^r^v, 117, 118, 119^r^v, 120^v, 121^r^v, and 122).

The headings of texts appear in slightly, if at all, larger size than that of the letter-forms in the text, with the single exception of the title in f. 165^v which is quite different²⁹; most times they are black with red initials, but there are also all red ones (ff. 1, 56, 60^v, 71^v, 75^v, 123, 161 and 165), and there is also one all black (f. 183).

Elaborate major initials in black or red ink introduce texts as well as paragraphs. It should be noted that in ff. 84-86 the initials are executed with green ink. Rubricated minor initials are used extensively throughout the manuscript introducing paragraphs, subheadings and subtitles.

It is interesting to note that the rubricator acted occasionally as corrector, though not always correctly in the text. For example, in f. 15.22 he added a missing iota in the word 'Αντονίου; in f. 186^v.16 he added, incorrectly, an ov in ὁγίου, as he missed the same diphthong in the next line. In certain cases, he did not execute rubricate letters at the beginning of words; for example, in f. 128^v the letter ε in εὐλόγησον, in f. 278^v the letter δ in δι' εὐχῶν, in f. 128 the letter T in the Etymology of the letters of the alphabet; in this

²⁸ For the ornamental description, I have consulted Lucia N. Valentine, *Ornament in Medieval Manuscripts*, London 1965.

²⁹ See above, note 27.

last text when the rubricator comes to execute letter I for *iota*, he puts an H instead.

At the beginning of most texts and usually at the place left between the title and the actual text, words and common phrases of benediction like εὐλόγησον πάτερ, εὐλόγησον δέσποτα, εὐλόγησον, δι' εὐχῶν or ἀλληλούια are found (most times with rubricated initials and other times all red or all black). Similarly the word τέλος marks the end of most texts; τέλος is most of times written in *monokondylia*, i.e. one stroke word.

Marginal additions indicating the items of the manuscript appear in different hands, usually in black ink and from f. 186 onwards in red as well. Greek numerals together with the words Κεφάλαιον and λόγος, are used to number the texts included in the manuscript. Not all texts, though, carry such numbering; some texts have been left unnumbered (maybe they were thought of as parts of others) These indications seem to have been added by the owners and users of the manuscript in various stages³⁰. One hand has written item numbers in ff. 87, 184, 186^v, 197, 203^v, 215, 217^v, 219^v, 233, 244, 257^v, 260^v, 261^v, 268, 273^v, 278^v, 284, 289, 294^v, 313^v; a second hand in ff. 72, 76, 238^v; a third hand in ff. 7^v, 66^v, 105^v; and finally the indications in ff. 183 and 190^v are written by a very unattractive hand who wrote mistakenly the word κεφάλαιον as κεφαλα. In f. 197 κε' (λόγος) was replaced by the correct number κβ'. Similarly, Greek numerals were added in the margin of ff. 41^v-44^v to indicate the numbers of the Canons³¹. Also, evocations in *monokondyliae*, some in red and some in black ink, by the hands of the scribes, appear very often in the margins.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND *EX LIBRIS* ³²

Marginal notes that appear in the manuscript provide interesting information concerning the subsequent owners of the codex.

³⁰ On the extensive use of the manuscript, see below, Subscriptions and *ex libris*; Marginal notes and additions by later hands.

³¹ See below, Contents of the manuscript, item no. 6.

³² For the conventions used in the transcription of the subscriptions, marginal notes and additions by later hands, see note 49.

In the bottom margin of a number of folios in the codex, different hands repeat information with reference to a certain priest by the name of *Kostantis*, who owned the manuscript at some stage: f. 11, Του παπᾶ κυρῶ Κοσταντη ἐνε τοῦτο το χαρτῖ, and f. 16 Του παπᾶ κυρῶ Κοσταντῆ ἐνε τοῦτο το χαρτι, both notes by the same hand (scribe H); repeated by different unattractive hands in f. 89^v, Τοῦ παπᾶ κύρ Κονσταντη ἐνε τουτο το χάρτη (scribe I); f. 200 Τοῦ παπᾶ κύρ Κωσταντη ἐνε τοῦτο το χάρτη : -, and f. 204, Τοῦ παπα κύρ Κοστάντη ἐνε τοῦτο το, both notes by the same hand (scribe J). In f. 189, the subscriber identified himself as Nikolaos Chasaplados, Του παπᾶ κυρῶ Κοσταντη ἐνε τοῦτο το χαρτη ἐγὼ Νικολαὸς Χασαπλαδ(ος) γρατο (scribe K). So far, no information on these persons could be found.

The same hand (scribe I) that wrote the subscription in f. 89^v, added two more important subscriptions, in bottom margins as well, stating that the manuscript belonged to a certain *miser Anastasakis*: f. 92, Τοῦ Αναστασακῆ τοῦ τετραδί(ου) ἐνε τουτου το χᾶρ | τακι - : - : -, and f. 106, ΤΟΥ ΜΥ | ΣΕΡ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΑΚΟΙ; this hand used the same ink and ductus for these two subscriptions but wrote the second one with rather striking capital letters. Once more, the identity of this person remains unknown, though the title *miser* indicates that he must have belonged to a noble family.

The most important information regarding the owner of the codex in the 16th century is contained in the autograph *ex libris* (owner's note) in f. 315, by the hand of the monk Barlaam (scribe L). The *ex libris* covers 3 lines and is preceded by a text written in a single column of 12 lines that covers half the folio, and seems to have also been written by the hand of Barlaam (see photo 3).

The last folio 315 reads as follows: ὁρ(α) τ(ὸ)ν λ(ό)γον (top margin in red ink) ἐκ τ(ῆ)ν θείαν γραφήν: |² + τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομέ σοι σήμερ(ον), φύλαξον |³ σφόδρα· τοῦτο ποίαι κ(αὶ) αὐτὸ οὐ προσθήσεις |⁴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἀφελείς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· τὸ ὄν- |⁵ τι γὰρ προσθῆναί τι τοῖς θείοις χρισμοῖς, |⁶ ἢ ἀφελεῖν, ἐπισφαλεῖ κ(αὶ) ἐπικίνδυνον· |⁷ οὐ γὰρ ἐσμὲν διορθοτὲ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὑποτα- |⁸ κτικοί : - κ(αὶ) πάλιν) ὁρ(α) τ(ὸν) χρ(η)σμὸν: περὶ γ(άρ) τ(ῆς) παλαιᾶς κ(αὶ) |⁹ τ(ῆς) νέ(ας) τὸν λόγ(ον) ποιούμε(εν)ος, κ(αὶ) τάδε κατὰ ῥῆμα διέξειςιν : |¹⁰ Ἐκεῖ τὸ γράμμα, ὧδε τὸ πν(εῦ)μα · ἐκεῖ ἡ κιβωτ(ὸς), ὧδε ἡ παρθέν(ος) · |¹¹ ἐκεῖ ἡ ῥᾶβδος ἀρῶν, ὧδε ὁ στ(αυ)ρ(ό)ς · ἐκεῖ ὁ ἄμν(ος), ὧδε ὁ χ(ρι)στός · |¹² ἐκεῖ τὰ ἄζυμα, ὧδε ὁ ἄρτ(ος) : - |¹³ + ἡ βῆβλος αὕτη ἔναι

τοῦ μετ' ἑαυτοῦ γεωργίου τοῦ ἀπὸ τὰ |¹⁴ κρημνὰ τῶν βουν(ῶν) ζακύνθου·
κόποις δὲ κ(αὶ) ἔξοδοις |¹⁵ τοῦ ἁμαρτολοῦ βαρλαάμ (μον)αχ(οῦ) : .

This note is written in black ink which has faded to brown, though red ink has been used for some parts which have faded (l. 1: ε of ἐκ; l. 8: κ(αὶ) πάλιν) ὄρ(α) τ(ὸν) χρ(ησμὸν): π- [of word περὶ]; and l. 10: E of 'Εκεῖ; this capital E has been also erroneously written at the beginning of line 9, and then it was rubbed out).

The *ex libris* at the end states that Barlaam acquired the codex on behalf of the monastery of Saint George the Great in Krymna, on the island of Zakynthos.

The monk Barlaam (Βαρλαάμ), named also Mpeletis (Μπελέτης), was the refounder and *oikonomos* of the monastery of Saint George in Krymna (meaning the rough cliffs of the mountains) on the island of Zakynthos³³. The monastery, which was previously attached to the monastery of the Mother of God Antiphonetria in Zakynthos, was handed to Barlaam and his companion, monk Makarios, on December 4th, 1535, in order to rebuild and reorganise it. Soon, they were joined by a considerable number of monks who invigorated the Orthodox monastic tradition on the island. Thanks to Barlaam, the library of the monastery was enriched³⁴. A number of manuscripts owned originally by the library of the monastery bearing Barlaam's autograph notes, survive to the present. In these notes, almost identical with the one appearing in our codex, Barlaam mentions himself as a collector and restorer of manuscripts (he uses the term ἀνεκαινίσθη) on behalf of the monastery³⁵.

³³ For Barlaam, see Marie Vogel-Victor Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1909 (repr. 1996), 52; Erich Trapp, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. 8, Vienna 1981, number 19687 (Μπελέτης Βαρλαάμ); and Ernst Gamillscheg-Dieter Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, vol. 2.A (Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens), Vienna 1989, number 47 (Βαρλαάμ Μπελέτης). The first two place Barlaam erroneously in the 14th century; Gamillscheg and Harlfinger place Barlaam correctly to the first half of the 16th century.

³⁴ For Barlaam, monk, scribe and refounder of the monastery of Saint George in Krymna of the island of Zakynthos, see L. Ch. Zoes, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ζακύνθου*, Athens 1955, 318; id., *Λεξικὸν Ἱστορικὸν καὶ Λαογραφικὸν Ζακύνθου*, Athens, vol. 1, 449 (Μπελέτη); and Maria Theochare, "Ἱστορημένον χειρόγραφον ἐκ τῆς μονῆς Ἀγίου Γεωργίου τῶν Κρημνῶν Ζακύνθου", *Πρακτικὰ Τρίτου Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου (23-29 Σεπτεμβρίου 1965)*, vol. 2, Athens 1969, 281-291, esp. 281-2, 289-290, and table 10.b with a reproduction of another *ex libris* (owner's note) by Barlaam (cod. Marc. gr. II, 32, f. 218).

³⁵ For similar notes by Barlaam, see also H. Delehay, "Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae D. Marci Venetiarum", *Analecta*

Though Barlaam does not mention explicitly that he restored *Canonicus graecus* 19, it is possible that he did so, as his phrase κόπκοιζ δὲ κ(αὶ) ἔξοδοις strongly indicates that Barlaam was in charge of the acquisition and maintenance of this manuscript for the monastery.

MARGINAL NOTES AND ADDITIONS BY LATER HANDS

The manuscript was read and used extensively. Apart from the seven original scribes (A-G), the four hands (H-K) who added subscriptions (see above), and the monk Barlaam who wrote the *ex libris* in f. 315 (L), at least 20 hands (1-20), of a later period, introduced marginal notes throughout the codex. It is very difficult to define the exact number of hands appearing due to the very spare and inconsistent character of these notes.

In the margin of a number of folios, several different hands repeat words and phrases that appear in the text, thus imitating the hands of the original scribes. Thus, the hand (1) that copied the words τον ἁδὰμ in f. 7, repeated also ἐκτίπτειν ἐξ in the top margin of f. 16^v (the upper part of the letters are slightly cut, as the folio was trimmed to fit the dimensions of the codex). A second hand (2) in f. 187^v repeated on the left margin the syllable ἐλῖ of the word ἐξελλύθη that appears in the text. A third hand (3) repeated in f. 38 (right margin) the syllable ἐλε of the word ἐλέησον. In f. 6, right margin, a fourth hand (4) copied number 6, the number of the folio. The first hand that numbered the codex, added in f. 123 (top and left margin) numbers and calculations, and in f. 147 the folio number 148, which is the first folio numbering (5). Finally, a different hand (6) repeated in the bottom margin of f. 314^v the final words of the last mutilated text contained in the manuscript (οἱ τῆς οἰκουμένης).

Similarly, additions and scholia to the text appear as well by different hands that belonged to readers and owners of the codex.

Bollandiana 24 (1905), 169-256, esp. 236 (Delehay dates erroneously a manuscript with an *ex libris* by Barlaam to the 15th century); Albert Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1937, 53-54; E. Mioni, *Codices graeci manuscripti bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum*, I. 1, Rome 1967, 118-9, 54 and 64.

Thus, in f. 149.12 ου was added twice, to complete the words οὐαὶ οὐαὶ in the text, as the rubricator did not execute the rubrics leaving unfinished this part of the words. This same hand (7) added in the margin οἱ ἄθλιοι (καὶ) ταλέποροι. A different hand (8) added in f. 150: τότε ἐγκεῖς τὸ τέλος διὰ γοργοῦ· (top margin); ἄντι ου ἐλαίου· (right margin); ἃ οὐ γέγων(εν) ἐν τ(ῇ) συστάσει | τοῦ κόσμου ∴. Another hand (9) added the following words using some dots forming a circle as the sign of addition: f. 210^v (bottom margin): εἶτα στρωσ(αν); f. 211 (right margin) : εἶτα στραφεῖς; f. 213^v (left margin using also ∴ as a sign of addition): ἀποκριθεῖς εἶπ(εν); f. 210^v (left margin) μετὰ ταῦτα. In f. 292 (right margin) the same hand repeated the words δωρ ἐξέχεε which have faded in the text. In the left margin of f. 40^v, the phrase τ(α) ἄρηκτα ὃ τη . βλα | μ . . . εἰ τὸν υἱὸν, | ἀφεθήσετε κ(αὶ) | το, which was crossed out by the same hand that copied it, seems to be a paraphrase of the text. A different hand (10) added the item number, κεφαλα K ', in folio 183; the same hand added the item number, κεφαλα κα', between the headpiece and the first line of the text in f. 190^v. In f. 87 (reversed in right margin) a different hand (11), which does not appear elsewhere in the manuscript, added the note διοκλητιανον τον τιραννον των της ρομης, which refers to the text. Two more hands (12 and 13) added notes referring to the text: f. 128, bottom margin, in pencil, τέλος της αλφαβητου εν Χριστω Ιησου τω Κυριω | κυριω αγιω, εις αιωνας αμην και εν αυτω . τέλος (the word Κυριω in the 1st line is crossed out); f. 313 (reversed in right margin) ετελιοθει ο βιος τουτου· συν τω βιω δε καὶ τ(ῶν) | θαυμάτ(ων) αὐτοῦ. καὶ συν ταῦτα τα τροπάρια.

Apart from notes and scholia with reference to the text, the codex contains a number of other subscriptions, such as the invocation to the Mother of God with the beginning of the *Akathistos Hymnos*: Τυ υπερμαχω στρατιγο τα <νικητήρια>, f. 15^v (reversed in right margin); and θεατῆς τῶν αρετων αποκαλύψεων, f. 16 (top margin), which have been copied by the same hand (14). Also, the phrases <το>υτο παραδοξο, in the left margin of f. 188^v, and λογος το, in the bottom margin of the same folio, by a different hand, which is very similar to that of Nikolaos Chasaplados (scribe K) who added the subscription in f. 189 (see above, p. 116). Similarly, a different hand (15) added + Επιταφιος λογος εστην ο εχο<ν>τ<ω>, in the bottom margin of f. 59, while in f. 314^v (reversed in left margin) a

note was added by another illiterate hand (16), which appears in faded grey ink (restoration tape covers half of it), + ὧ X(ριστ)ἐ μου πρ . . . <αγγελιαν οι |² πιστέψο κι αλο . . . |³ feggat παντοκράτορ οπόσα εξι . λθ . οφνυγγ . . αδ |⁴ παντοκράτορ τις οικουμένης.

In addition, several anonymous readers and owners of the manuscript practised their hand in certain folios, copying the alphabet, letters and syllables: in f. 40, right margin, pen trials depicting the letters E, Π and T, and in bottom margin the letter α, repeating erroneously the gathering number ζ' in the middle bottom margin of the page (17); f. 117, bottom margin, letters ση, probably from a different hand (18). Another person (19) practiced his hand a number of times copying the letters α, β, γ, δ in the left margin of f. 218^v. An additional illiterate hand (20) copied the letters of the alphabet, not always following the correct order in the bottom margins of f. 214^v: +α·β·γ·δ·ε·ζ·η·θ·ι·κ·λ·μ·ν·ξ·ο·π·ρ·σ; and f. 220^v: +α·β·γ·δ·ε·ζ·η·θ·ι·κ; and the left margin of f. 225^v: α·β·γ·δ·ε· | ζ·η·ι·θ·κ·λ | μ·ν·ξ·ρ·π | α α α α. (ι precedes θ and π precedes ρ, while ο is being omitted). The same hand copied in the right margin of f. 231, αλφα το στοιχειον», repeated the word κρκοῦων τ which appears further down in the text; imitated in the right margin of f. 283^v the abbreviated word καὶ that appears in the text, and also added the phrase των δεσποτην ιμνυσουμε ω κτισον φισιν in the bottom margin of this same folio.

The large number of marginal notes, scholia and additions by the later hands show that the codex was used and read extensively. It is interesting that despite its extensive use, no effort was made to correct the great number of spelling mistakes made by the scribes, apart from a very small number of corrections which are introduced in a hesitant way, without crossing out the mistaken part of the word. For example, in f. 160^v.26 above the last *omicron* of προσευχομένον the corrector placed *omega* (genitive plural), while in f. 256.9 above the first *omega* of ἀνταπιδώσωμεν there is an addition of the letter *omicron*. Also, in f. 190^v.8 a capital M above the word μεγάλου was placed, in order to stress the word Great with reference to Emperor Constantine I.

Two modern hands give information on the contents and the correct folio numbering of the codex. In f. 1, right margin, an 18th century hand, possibly that of the possessor of the manuscript or

his librarian at that time, added in a very thick ductus in black ink his description of the contents: *Raccolta | di diversi | sermoni | in greco volgare* (=Collection of various sermons in popular Greek). Interestingly, the last two lines, containing the phrase *in greco volgare*, have been crossed out by a different hand. It seems that the same hand who wrote the above phrase in f. 1, also wrote the number 315 on the verso of folio 315, bottom middle margin³⁶. Another 19th century hand, probably that of Coxe, added in pencil the notes *Succesore fol. 71.b.*, in the top right corner of f. 105 (originally placed before f. 72) crossing out folio number 105, and *Su. fol. 72.*, in f. 105^v, indicating the misplacement of these folios.

Subscriptions by later hands appear also in the first flyleaf (I^r), following the front pastedown leaf, which contains bibliographical notes on the manuscript as well as a note by the Librarian³⁷. The back pastedown leaf contains an attached rectangular paper note (119x96 mm.), copied by a later hand in black ink, with the summary contents of the manuscript, *Codex Liturgicus | Complectens varias Orationes | SS. Pp. praesertim S. Jo: Chrysostomi, | Vitas Sanctorum, et alia*, and the cyclical stamp of the Bodleian Library, bearing the insignia of the Library and the inscription *BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA*. The cyclical stamp of the Bodleian, is also impressed on the bottom margin of ff. 1, 70, 159, 208, 267, and on the middle upper part of the last folio of the manuscript, f. 315^v, which was left blank.

HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The *ex libris* (owner's note) in f. 315 provides evidence for the history of the manuscript after this was copied in the island of Crete (see Chapter 3. 2) and transferred to Zakynthos, one of the

³⁶ See note 4.

³⁷ The first two flyleaves (I+II) that are unnumbered, form a bifolio which is actually a printed form of the Bodleian Library saying *Printed notices on this MS. occur in* (printed in black ink); the notes contain references on Hippolyte Delehaye, *Deux Typica Byzantins de l' époque des Paléologues*, Bruxelles 1921, 188-196. Appendice. Le Testament de Jean l' Étranger; Nikolaos Tomadakis, 'Ο "Άγιος 'Ιωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἡ διαθήκη αὐτοῦ, *Kretika Chronika* 2 (1948), 47-72.

Single unnumbered blank flyleaves (III-IV) of the original manuscript are placed at the back and front (following the bifolio flyleaf which is actually glued onto the original flyleaf III).

Ionian islands, by somebody who was travelling in places that were under Venetian occupation. It should be noted that at the beginning of the 16th century both Crete and the Ionian islands belonged to the Venetians. The monk Barlaam acquired the manuscript for the monastery of Saint George in Krymna, Zakynthos, during the first half of the 16th century. The subscriptions on folios 11, 16, 89^v, 92, 106, 189, 200 and 204 also suggest that at some point, either before or after the codex became part of the manuscript collection of the monastery, it was owned by a certain nobleman called *miser Anastasakis* and a priest by the name of *Kostantis*.³⁸

During the 18th century the codex was acquired by Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727-1805/6), the indefatigable scholar and collector of medals, pictures, coins, statuary, books and manuscripts, with a passion for antiquities³⁹, who became a Jesuit in 1743. Forced to leave Bologna as a result of a suppression of the Order in 1773, he settled in Venice where he started building his library. He acquired his books and manuscripts mainly during his travels in Rome, Naples, Florence and elsewhere. Determined to enrich his library, so that he could present it to the Jesuits' College at Venice, once the order was restored as he hoped, he spared no effort and expense. Thus, among other acquisitions he was able to obtain *en bloc* the collections of the duke of Modena and the library of Giacomo Soranzo of Venice (which partly derived from the Biblioteca Recanati).

On Canonici's death the collection and library were inherited by his brother Giuseppe, and in 1807, after Giuseppe's death, they passed on to Giovanni Perissinotti and Girolamo Cardina, who divided the items between them. It was Perissinotti who acquired the manuscripts collection, numbering approximately 3,550⁴⁰. According to the *Annals* of the Bodleian "the large Canonici collection of manuscripts was obtained from Venice" in 1817, "for the sum of £5444, a purchase unprecedented in greatness in the

³⁸ On these subscriptions, see above, Subscriptions and *ex libris*, p. 116.

³⁹ For M.L. Canonici and his library see *Annals of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, with a notice of the earlier library of the University by the Rev. W.D. Macray*, Oxford 1890², pp. 299-302; Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, 313-15.

⁴⁰ See Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, p. 313.

history of the Library", which amounted in number "to about 2045" manuscripts⁴¹.

The *Canonicus graecus 19* first appears under No. 18472 in the formal list of the *Canonici* manuscripts, compiled in May 1817, shortly before the collection was handed over to the Library in May of the same year⁴². This number, 18472, is written by an early 19th century hand, on the upper left-hand corner of the front pastedown leaf in black ink. The provenance of the manuscript *Canonici | Gr.* [=Canonici Graeci] appears on a printed paper label, identical to those placed on the spine, with a subscript addition of the number, 19, written in pencil by another modern hand that added below once more the name and new number of the codex, *MS. Canon. Gr. 19*.

DATE

On the basis of external and internal evidence the date of the composition of *Canonicus graecus 19* can be placed safely in the second half of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century.

The manuscript's dating is based on the following elements:

1. the watermarks: the paper used for the manuscript bear watermarks that can be dated to the mid-15th century onwards; most watermarks are attested on paper manufactured in the 4th-6th decades of the 15th century.⁴³
2. the *ex libris* (owner's note): Barlaam subscribed the last additional folio of the codex after 1535 when he took charge of the monastery.⁴⁴
3. the style of script: the script of the monastery τῶν Ὁδηγῶν appeared during the 3rd-4th decade of the 14th century and flourished until the 16th century.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Cf. *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, p. 299-300; Madan, *op. cit.*.

⁴² See Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, pp. 313, 315.

⁴³ See above, pp. 109-110.

⁴⁴ See above, pp. 116-118.

⁴⁵ See above, pp. 110-111.

4. the text contained in ff. 215.1-217^v.14⁴⁶ is the *Life of Niphon*. Niphon is a 14th century saint (1315-1411) and his *Life* was composed in the 15th century.⁴⁷

5. the text contained in f. 122^v is a letter by Nikolaos Kladios who was a *notarios* (scribe) in Rethymnon, Crete (ca. 1465).⁴⁸

The composition of the codex has taken place in two stages. At the first stage (final decades of the 15th century) the whole manuscript was copied and brought together as the watermarks, the *Life of Niphon* and the autograph letter of Kladios testify, while at the second stage (first half of the 16th century) the monk Barlaam acquired it for the library of the monastery of Saint George in Krymna, Zakynthos, and added the last single folio with the *ex libris* bearing his own handwriting.

⁴⁶ See below, Contents of the manuscript, item no. 29.

⁴⁷ See Angeliki E. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire", *Charanis Studies. Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, New Jersey 1980, 84-114.

⁴⁸ See below, Contents of the manuscript, item no. 13.

CONTENTS ⁴⁹

1. (ff. 1.1-5^v.9) Sermon of our sainted father, the archbishop of Constantinople, Chrysostom on the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ (In secundum adventum domini nostri), Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν) ἄρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως |² τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου λόγος εἰς τ(ὴν) παρουσί(αν) τοῦ Κ(υριο)ῦ ἡμ(ῶν) Ι(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ εὐλόγησον cod. Inc. Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Κ(υριο)ῦ εἰς τοὺς |⁴ ὀυ(ρα)νοὺς οἴκουσαν οἱ μαθητ(αὶ) ..., des. ... ἵνα ἐπιτύχομ(εν) τῶν αἰωνίων |⁶ ἀγαθ(ῶν) ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ Ι(ησο)ῦ τῷ Κ(υρι)ῷ ἡμῶν |⁷ ὃ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶ |⁸ + νας ἀμήν :- |⁹ τέλος. BHG³ 635y; CPG 5529; PG 61, 775-778.

2. (ff. 5^v.10-7^v.5) <Interrogations and responses> on the Holy Gospel (Interrogationes et responsiones), Περι τοῦ αγ(ίου) ευαγγελιου ευλογησον cod. Inc. Ἐρώτησις πῶς ὁ φειλ(ῶν) τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσει |¹² αὐτ(ὴν) ..., des. ... ἐρώτησις πόσον μήκος ἦχε ἡ κηβοτὸς |⁴ ἀποκρισις το μίκ(ος) πίχες · γ · τὸ πλάτ(ος) πίχ(εων) ν · το ὕψος πῖ |⁵ χεον λ :- τέλος :- CPG 3969.

3. (ff. 7^v.6-22 + f. 64, originally f. 8 + ff. 8.1-23^v.10) The Life and Conduct of our holy father Symeon the Stylite (Vita Symeonis Stylitae senioris), β' (in left margin) Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡ |⁷ μῶν Συμεῶν τοῦ Στηλήτου ευλογησον δέσποτα cod. Inc. Ἀγαπητῇ βουλομαι ἡμῖν διηγῆσασθαι |⁹ διήγησιν ψυχοφυγῇ· πρ(ὸς) διόρθωσιν νο |¹⁰ ὧς ἐπίστην τὴν πρ(ὸς) θ(εὸν) ἡμᾶς διεγέρουσιν |¹¹ ξένον καὶ παράδοξον μυστήριον γέγο |¹² νεν ἐν τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἡμῶν· ἔδοξεν ἐμοὶ

⁴⁹ Mistakes, misreadings and omissions in descriptions of the contents by previous scholars have been tacitly corrected; see note 1.

In the transcription of the Greek text, as well as subscriptions and marginal notes, spelling, breathings, accents and the *diaeresis* sign over *iota* and *upsilon*, are given exactly as in the manuscript, including the omission of mute *iota* by the scribe. Word division has been imposed where necessary, and the initial letter of proper names has been capitalised. Illegible letters are marked by a corresponding number of dots; doubtful or unclear letters are indicated by subscribed dots; ----- indicate uncertain number of erased or illegible letters; <> enclose letters added by the editor, including letters omitted due to arbitrary suspension; () enclose the expansion of an abbreviation, or contraction which stands for specific letters; αβγ] and [αβγ mark letters or words preceding or following a mutilated text; | marks the end of a line in the manuscript and the beginning of the next line; and (?) implies that the reading, form or meaning of the preceding word is doubtful.

|¹³ τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ Αντώνιῳ· σύγγρά|¹⁴ ψασθε ὀφελίᾱς γὰρ καὶ κ(α)τ(α)νύξεώς· |¹⁵ πεπλήρωται τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτω ..., des. ... ἐν τ(οῖς) ὀυ(ρα)νοῖς αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα τημὴ καὶ |⁷ πρ(ὸς)κύνησις) δ' τῷ ἀνάρχῳ Π(ατ)ρί καὶ τῷ πανάγκνῳ (καὶ) |⁸ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωόπιῳ σου Πν(εύματ)ι νὺν καὶ ἀεὶ |⁹ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰών(α)ς τῶν αἰών(ων)|¹⁰ ἀμήν ἀμήν τέλος. BHG³ 1682-1685m (1685e); CPG 6724.

4. (ff. 23^v.11-30^v.18) Sermon of our sainted father, the archbishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom on the vanity of life (Oratio in vanam vitam, et de paenitentia), Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις· π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου· ἀρχιεπίσκο |¹² που Κωνσταντινοπόλεως τοῦ Χρῖ |¹³ σοστώμου λόγ(ος) εἰς τὸν μάταιον βί |¹⁴ ων· Δεσποτ(α) εὐλογησον· :- cod. Inc."Οσοι τα τοῦ βίου μάταια καὶ ἀπόλλυ |¹⁶ μένα πράγματα κατελείπατε, μὴ |¹⁷ πάλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν καρδίαν εἰς |¹⁸ αὐτὰ ἀποστρέφηται ..., des. ... καὶ ἀπελπίσμένων· καὶ πάντων τῶν |¹⁶ κατὰφευγόντων εἰς σὲ ἐν πῖσ(τει) (καὶ) σ(ωτη)ρίᾱ |¹⁷ (καὶ) σου ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ βασιλεία νῦν (καὶ) ἀ |¹⁸ εἶ (καὶ) εἰς τοὺς αἰών(ας) τῶν αἰώνων ἀμ(ήν). BHG³ 2103n; CPG 4031, 4622; PG 60, 735-738.

5. (ff. 30^v.19-38.5) Homily of our sainted father, the archbishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom on ... the publican and the Pharisee (In publicanum et pharisaeum), Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰωάννου· ἀρχ(ι)ἐπίσκοπου Κωνστ(αν)τίνου· |²⁰ πόλεως τοῦ Χρ(υ)σοστομου ὁμιλ(ί)α περὶ εὐχῆς (καὶ) ὅτι ρίξ(α) (καὶ) πύγῃ |²¹ (καὶ) μή(τη)ρ (καὶ) αὐτ(ῆς) τ(ῆς) βασιλ(ει)ας δυνατοτέρ(α) (καὶ) εἰς τ(ὸν) φαρ(ισαίον) εἰς τ(ὸν) τε |²² ἰλόν(ον) :- lf.³² (in top margin and in red ink) Τοῦ Χρ(υ)σοστομου εὐλο(γη)σον· π(ά)τερ :- cod. Inc. Μὴδέποτε διὰλ(ι)μπάνωμ(εν) ἀγαπητοῖ· |² τῆς σ(ωτη)ρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας πρόνοιαν ἀντὶ |³ θέμ(εν)οι ..., des. ... ἡμᾶς ἐπιτύχῃν χάριτι καὶ οἱ φιλαν(θρωπ)ία |² του μονογενοῦσου υἱοῦ τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ ἡμ(ῶν) Ι(ησο)ῦ |³ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ᾧ ἡ δοξα καὶ τό κράτ(ος) εἰς τ(οὺς) |⁴ αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶ |⁵ νων ἀμήν ἀμήν τέλος. CPG 4716a; PG 48, 743-748.

6. (ff. 38.6-44^v.4; the rest of folio 44^v [i.e. lines 5-22] is left blank; the last two written lines are covered by a rubricated title)⁵⁰

a. (ff. 38.6-42.16) Beginning of the Greek letter Upsilon. On the invectives. From the syntagmata of Matthaïos

⁵⁰ These folios need further study to be more certain about their exact contents.

(**Blastaris**), κε(φάλαιον) ρκ ' (in right margin) 'Αρχ·ή· τοῦ ὑ'· |⁷ Πε(ρὶ) ὑβρεων· ἀπὸ τὰ συν·τάγμα·τα Ματθαίου· θύτου :- cod. Inc. 'Ο νε' τῶν ἀγ·ίων· ἀποστολικῶν· καν·ον·(ων), ἔτι δὲ (καὶ) ὁ νζ'· ὁ |⁹ τὸν ἴδιον ἐπίσκοπόν· ὑβρίσας κληρικὸς, |¹⁰ καθαιρε·θεις· ..., des. ... τῶν ἐπιστρεφόντ(ων) ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἐξέ |¹⁶ ρασμα, ὡς τὸν κύων· διὰ τούτω ἀνάγνωθ(ι)· . CPG 7560; cf. G.A. Rhalles, M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, vol. 6, Athens 1859, 481-483.

b. (ff. 42.17-44^v.2) **Canon of our sainted father, the Patriarch Germanus, and of Chrysostom**, Τοῦ ἐν αγ(ίοις) π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν) Γερμανοῦ π(ατ)ριάρχ·ου· (καὶ) τοῦ |¹⁸ Χρυσοστόμου κα·
<ν>(ων) ·:· + ·:-cod. Inc. 'Ο βλασφημήσας εἰς τ(ὸν) χ(ριστὸν) ..., des. ... τὸ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀγ(ίο) πν(εῦμ)α, ἥ εἰς τὴν θεότητα, οὐκ α |² φεθήσετε πολ(υ) :+

c. (ff. 44^v.2-4) **Of our sainted father, the archbishop of Salonica on the feastday of the Mother of God**, τοῦ ἐν αγ·ίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν) αρχ·ι· |³ ἐπισκόπου· τ(ῆς) Σαλονίκ(ης) εἰς τ(ὴν) ἐορτάσιμ(ον) |⁴ τ(ῆς) Θεοτοκου καὶ πρὸς Θεοῦ μνημένης. cod. (rubricated).

7. (ff. 45.1-63^v.22 + 65.1-66.22)⁵¹ **On the Assumption of the Mother of God (De assumptione Deiparae)**, Καὶ πρὸς Θε(ο)ν μεταστάσ(εως)· καὶ ἅπερ αὐτῇ απὲ |² καλύφθη ἄρρητα μυστήρια ..., des. ... λῦτρω |²¹ θείμεν πάντ(ων) τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως τότε (καὶ) |²² νῦν ... ἀμήν:- BHG³ 1145n, 1145p, 1145r.

Within this text in ff. 56.3-58.2 there is a **Parable of Saint Peter**, Παραβολῇ τοῦ ἀγ·ίου· Πέτρου:- (rubricated title) cod. Inc. "Ἦν τις ἄν(θρωπ)ος πλοῦσιδς (καὶ) ἐυγενεῖς ..., des. ... ἐλευθερί(ας) ἐπεθήμηςας ἐσὴ ἔλευθερος ἁ |² πὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ εἰς τ(οὺς) αἰών(ας):+

8. (ff. 66^v.1-71^v.12) **On the sainted and good martyr Anastasia the Pharmakolytria, the virgin (S. Anastasiæ Romanæ vita et martyrium)**, ζ (in left margin) Μάρτυρος τ(ῆς) αγ·ι·(ας) (καὶ) καλῆς Αναστασίας τ(ῆς) |² φαρμακολήτ(ας) τῆς παρθ·ένου ευ·λό·γησον· π(ά)τερ :- cod. Inc. Κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ἐκείνους Διοκλητιάνου (καὶ) |⁴ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σύγκαθῆδρου Βαλεριάνου· ἦν |⁵ διῶμοι κ(α)τ(ά) τ(ῶν) χρι·στιαν(ῶν) κατα τὴν Ρῶμην ..., des. ... ἐν τὸπω τὸ καλου |³ μενω Ψηρῶ. ἐγγὺς τῆς μεγαλοπόλ·εως Ρώμης ... |⁶ ... χρόνοις αὐτοῦ ἐτελειώθη· ἡ γιὰ (καὶ) ... |¹¹ ... σὺν τῷ Π(ατ)ρί (καὶ) τῷ ἀγίῳ Πν(εύματ)ι νῦν (καὶ) ἀεὶ (καὶ) εἰς τοὺς αἰών(ας) |¹² τὸν αἰών(ων) ἀμήν τέλος. BHG³ 76x-z.

⁵¹ The text contained in ff. 45-63^v and 65-66 needs further study.

9. (ff. 71^v.13-20 + <71a> + 105^r.1-22) **The Life and Conduct of the sainted and miracle-working *anargyroi* (healers), Kosmas and Damianus (Vitæ et actuum SS. Anargyrorum Cosmæ et Damiani)**, κε(φαλαιον) η ' (in left margin) Βίος (καὶ) πολιτεία τ(ῶν) ἁγί(ων) (καὶ) θαυματουργ(ῶν) ἀνὰρ |¹⁴ γύρ(ων), Κοσμῶν (καὶ) Δαμιᾶνοῦ ∴ εὐλόγησον δέσποτα· cod. Inc. Τοῦ Κυριοῦ οἰμ(ῶν) Χ(ριστο)ῦ βασιλευοντος) πάσα πλάνη (καὶ) δαι |¹⁶ μόν(ων) ..., des. ... ἀφανῆς ὁ ὄφης |¹⁸ ἐγένετο ἀπ' αὐτ(ῶν) Χ(ριστ)ῶ δόξα (καὶ) κράτ(ος) εἰς τοῦς |¹⁹ αἰῶνας |²⁰ τ(ῶν) αἰῶν(ων) |²¹ ἀμήν· ἀμήν· |²² τέλος. BHG³ 372-372e.

10. (ff. 105^v.1-20 + 72.1-75^v.8) **<Sermon> of our sainted father, John Chrysostom <on the life of monks> (De vita monachorum)**, θ' (in left margin) Τοῦ ἐν αἰῶσις π(ατ)ρ(ὸς) ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ |² εὐλογοῦντος π(άτ)ερ· Χριστωστόμου ∴ εὐλογοῦντος cod. Inc. "Ὅλον τὸν κόπον (καὶ) τ(ήν) πνευματικὴν ἐργασί(αν) |³ τοῦ μοναχοῦ (καὶ) τοῦ κοσμικοῦ ..., des. ... (καὶ) οὐδὲν διδάξ(ας) αὐτοῦς· εἰς π(ᾶν) |⁵ ἔργον ἀγαθ(όν)· τὸν αἰωνί(ων) ἀγαθ(ῶν) τὴν |⁶ ἀπολαυσιν αὐτῶ ἢ δό |⁷ ξα (καὶ) τῶ κράτ(ος) εἰς τοῦς |⁸ αἰῶν(ας) ἀμήν. CPG 4975.

11. (ff. 75^v.9-23 + <75a-75d> + 76.1-86^v.22) **On the blessed Helen, or the finding of the Cross (nails) (De B. Helena seu inventio clavorum)**, κε(φαλαιον) ι ' (in left margin) Περί τῆς μακαρί(ας) Ἐλενης ∴ |¹⁰ ἡ εὐρεσίς τῶν ἡλῶν εὐλογοῦντος π(άτ)ερ ∴ cod. Inc. Πάλιν οὖν ἡ μακαρία Ἐλένη πλήρης ὑπάρχουσ(α) |¹² τῆς πρ(ὸς) τὸν Θε(ὸν) πίστε(ως) ..., des. ... ἐπὶ τ(ήν) ὀρθ(ήν) κ(αὶ) βαιβαί(αν) πρ(ο)τρέ |¹⁷ ψασθαι πιστ(ιν) Ἐρρωσω δέσποιν(α) ... |²¹ ... ἀμήν |²² ... τέλος· + BHG³ 412f.

12. (ff. 87.1-104^v.22 + 106.1-122.23) **Martyrdom of the sainted and glorious great martyr George (Martyrium S. Georgii Cappadocis)**, κε(φαλαιον) ιβ ' (in right margin) Μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδοξου μεγα |² λομάρτυρος Γεωργίου Δέσποτα εὐλόγησον cod. Inc. Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ τυράννου τῶν τῆς Ρώμης |⁴ Κύπρον ἐπιλημ(εν)ου· (καὶ) τῆς Νικομήδ(ιας) |⁵ Μαξιμιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ..., des. ... Ταῦτα εὐξάμ(εν)ος καὶ ὡς ἡδιστα τὸν αὐχέν πρ(οσ) |⁵ τείνας τ(ῆς) ἀθλητικ(ῆς) ἐκτεμνεται· |⁶ κεφαλ(ῆς) ἡμέρ(α) Παρασκεβῆ ... |⁹ τὸ (δὲ) πολ(ύ)αθλον αὐτοῦ· |¹⁰ λείψανον· ἀπο Νικο |¹¹ μηδείας ἐν Διοπόλει· τ(ῆς) |¹² Παλαιστ(ί)νης ἀνεκομῆ· |¹³ σθη ... |²² ἀμήν ∴ ... |²³ ... τέλος· BHG³ (673), 674.

13. (f. 122^v.1-22 + <122a>) **Nikolaos Kladios** (ca. 1465) **<Autograph letter to Bishop (?)>**, εγκόμνον: (in upper margin) Inc. +Τα σὰ γράμματα (καὶ) ἀξιάγαστα· πανευλαβέστατε· θύτω· ἄντα |² μοιβώμ(εν)ος ἐγὼ ὁ ἐλάχιστος Νικόλαος Κλάδιος ..., des. ... ὁ Δα(υί)δ μή καυχάστω ὁ σοφ(ὸς) [des. mut. Unpublished.⁵²

14. (ff. 123.1-127.18) **Sermon of our sainted father, the archbishop of Constantinople, Proclus on the transfiguration of our Lord and God Jesus Christ (In transfigurationem domini)**, κεφ(άλαιον) : ιγ' · (in upper margin) Τοῦ ἐν ἀγί(οις) π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Πρόκλου ἀρχιεπί |² σκόπου Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως· λόγ(ος) εἰς |³ τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν τοῦ Κ(υρί)ου (καὶ) Θε(ο)ῦ |⁴ ἡμῶν Ι(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ :- εὐλόγησον· δέσποτα·+ cod. Inc. Δεῦτε φίλοι καὶ σήμερον τῶν Εὐαγγελι· |⁶ κῶν ἀόκνως ἐφαψώμεθα θησαυρῶν· |⁷ ἵνα ἐκεῖθεν συνήθως ..., des. ... ὡς ἀνεξερευντα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ καὶ |¹² ἀνεξιχνιασταὶ ὁδοὶ |¹³ αὐτοῦ· αὐτῷ |¹⁴ ἡ δοξα |¹⁵ κ(αὶ) τῷ |¹⁶ ἀγίῳ |¹⁷ Πν(εύμα)τι |¹⁸ νῦν καὶ ... ἀμήν. BHG^a 1980, BHGⁿ 1980a; CPG 5807; PG 61, 713-716 (= 65, 764A-772B).

15. (f. 127.19-30) **The names of the twelve Apostles (Duodecim apostolorum nomina)**, οἱ ιβ' Απόστολοι cod. Inc. +Πέτρ(ος)· Παῦλ(ος)· Ἀνδρέ(ας)· Λουκ(άς)· Ἰακώβος |²¹ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου ..., des. ... |²⁸ ... Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριώτης·+ ... |³⁰ ... τέλος·-

16. (ff. 127^v.1-128.31) **Etymology of the letters of the alphabet (Etymologiae litterarum)**, Inc. Α ἄλφα τὸ στοιχί(ον)· παρὰ τῷ ἄλφω το εὐρίσκω ..., des. ... ὅτι ἐγὼ |²⁹ ψαβω χρόνου· (δὲ) πληγῶν : - ... |³¹ ... τέλος.

17. (ff. 128^v.1-144^v.30) **The testament of our holy and just father Abraham (Testamentum Abrahami)**, κεφάλ(αιον) : ιδ' :

⁵² Nikolaos Kladios appears as a *notarios* (scribe) in Rethymnon, Crete in the second half of the 15th century (ca. 1465); see Trapp, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. 5, number 11759. The hand who copied the letter in f. 122^v can be identified with his hand; cf. Ernst Gamillscheg-Dieter Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*, vol. 2 (Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens), Vienna 1989, no. 428 and plate 239. An annotated edition of this letter is in preparation.

(in left margin) Ἡ διάθῃκη τοῦ οσκούου π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς ἡμῶν κ(αὶ) δι² καίου
 Ἀβραάμ· δυαλῶον (δὲ) κ(αὶ) τὴν³ τοῦ θανάτου πεῖραν· <εὐλόγησον : +
 (letter ε of the word εὐλόγησον has not been executed by the
 rubricator and the space has been left blank) cod. Inc. Ἐξῆσεν
 Ἀβραάμ· το μέτρον τῆς ζωῆς⁵ αὐτοῦ. ἔτη· ᾗ' ἐνενίκοντα· ε'· πάντα⁶ δὲ τῶ
 ἔτη τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ, ζήσας ἐν ἱ⁷ σὺχεῖά κ(αὶ) πραότητι κ(αὶ) δικιοσύνη ...,
 des. ... τ(ην) φιλοξενί(αν) μημίσα²⁰ σθαι· καὶ τ(ην) ἀγαπην κτισώμεθα·²¹
 ὥπως ἀξιῶθῶμ(εν)²² τ(ῆς) αἰωνίου²³ ζωῆς²⁴ δο²⁵ ξά²⁶ ζον ...³⁰ ... ἀμῆν.
 BHG³ 2001; CAVT 88.

18. (ff. 145.1-152.14) **Sermon of our sainted father the bishop Methodius on the last days and on the antichrist (Methodii episcopii tractatus de novissimis diebus et de Antichristo),** κεφ(άλαιον) ιέ :- (in left margin) Τοῦ ἐν ἀγί(οις) π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς ἡμ(ῶν) Μεθοδίου ἐπίσκοπου·² λόγος περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἡμερῶν κ(αὶ)³ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρήστου· εὐλόγησον· : + cod. Inc. Κατὰ τ(ην) θεόλεκτον· φων(ήν) τὴν λέγουσ(αν)·⁵ ὅταν ἀκούσατε πολέμους· καὶ ἀκο⁶ ἄς πόλεμον· ..., des. ... δόξης· ὦ⁶ πρέπη⁷ πᾶ⁸ σα⁹ δόξα καὶ τημὴ καὶ κρατος¹⁰ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶ¹¹ νας¹² ἀμῆν ...¹⁴ τέλος. BHG³ 2036d.

19. (ff. 152.15-157^v.13) **Sermon of our sainted father, the archbishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom on the Annunciation of the supremely holy Mother of God (In annuntiationem b. Virginis),** κεφ(άλαιον) ις ' :- (in right margin) Τοῦ ἐν ἀγί(οις) π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰωάννου· ἀρχιἐπὶ¹⁶ σκόπου· Κωνσταντίνουπόλεως Ἰωάννου· τοῦ¹⁷ Χρυσοστόμου· λόγος εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελισμὸν¹⁸ τῆς ὑπεραγί(ας) Θεοτόκου·¹⁹ εὐλόγησον· π(ά)τερ :- cod. Inc. Εὐλογησον· δεσποτ(α) (in top margin rubricated) Πάλιν χαρᾶς Εὐαγγέλια· πάλι(ν)² ἐλευθερίας μηνίματα· πάλι(ν)³ ἀνάκλisis· πάλιν ἐπάνοδος· ..., des. ... ἡ σκέπη· αὐτὸ γὰρ ἐ(στὶ) ἡ εἰρήν(η) ἡ² μῶν ἧς³ γένη⁴ τὸ⁵ ἄ⁶ πο⁷ λαβεῖν ἡμᾶς· χά⁸ ριτὶ⁹ τοῦ¹⁰ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ...¹³ ἀμην:-. BHG³ 1128f; CPG 4519; PG 10, 1171A-1178B (= 50, 791-796).

20. (ff. 157^v.14-160^v.29) **Sermon of our sainted father Basil on the sinful woman (De muliere peccatrice),** ιζ ' (in left margin) Τοῦ ἐν ἀγί(οις) π(ατ)ρ(ό)ς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου· λόγος περὶ¹⁵ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ἀμαρτολῆς·¹⁶ δέσποτ(α) εὐλόγησον· cod. Inc. Γυνὴ τοῖς πλοῦτω· καὶ εὐγενεία¹⁸ κομώσα· καὶ τι λύπη τοῦ βή¹⁹ ου τοῦ ματαίου τοῦτου

..., des. ... καὶ δεδωκοτα χάριν |¹⁸ τοῖς δοῦλοις αὐτοῦ· καὶ |¹⁹ μετα θάνατον, ἵα
|²⁰ σθαι. πασαν νό |²¹ σον· καὶ |²² πᾶ |²³ σαν μαλακί(αν)· ἀλλὰ καὶ |²⁴
ἁμαρτίαις |²⁵ τῶν |²⁶ ἐν πίστ(εῖ) ... |²⁸ ... ἀμήν. BHG³ 258.

21. (ff. 161.1-165.33) Sermon of Athanasius, the archbishop of Alexandria, on the image of our Lord Jesus Christ and on the miracle performed by him (Narratio de cruce seu imagine Berytensi), ιη ' · (in right margin) 'Αθανασίου ἀρχιεπίσκοπου», 'Αλεξάν |² δρεΐ(ας)· λόγος περὶ τῆς εἰκόνης |³ τοῦ Κ(υρίου) υἱοῦ ἡμῶν Ι(ησοῦ) υἱοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ)· καὶ περὶ τοῦ |⁴ γενομένου θαύματος παρ αὐτοῦ |⁵ Ἔθῃ δὲ καὶ τῇ Κηριᾶκῇ τοῖς ὀρθο |⁶ δοξίας· Δέσποτα εὐλόγησον· :- cod. Inc. Ἄρατε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἡμῶν τῆς |⁸ διανοίας· καὶ ἴδεται τὸ κενὸν |⁹ θέαμα τοῦτο· ὅπερ γέγονα νῦν ..., des. ... ἵνα γινώται (καὶ) |¹⁴ ἐπὶ τοῦτω τοῦ ἡμετέρου Θεοῦ ἡμ(ῶν) |¹⁵ καὶ σ(ωτή)ρ(ο)ς τ(ὴν) δύναμιν ... |³¹ :: καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· |³² τῶν |³³ αἰ(ωνων). BHG³ 780-788b (784b); CPG 2262; PG 28, 797A-805B; 805C-812C.

22. (ff. 165^v.1-182^v.26.) Sermon of our sainted father, the archbishop of Constantinople, Germanus on the Annunciation of the supremely holy Mother of God (Homilia in annuntiationem s. Deiparae), ιθ' (in left margin) Τοῦ ἐν αἰίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς |² ἡμῶν· Γερ |³ μανοῦ ἄρ |⁴ χηεπίσκο |⁵ που Κων |⁶ σταντίνου |⁷ πόλ(εως)· λόγ(ος)· εἰς τὸν εὐαγγελισμόν τῆς |⁸ υπε(ρα)γ(ίας) Θεοτόκου· δέσποτα ευλόγησον· : cod. Inc. Τῆς παροῦσης τιμῆ(ας) καὶ σεβασμὶ |¹⁰ οὐ βασιλικῆς συνάξεως· τὴν |¹¹ φαεινὴν τε καὶ ὑπερένδοξον ἁ |¹² νάμνησιν· λαοὶ φύλαὶ καὶ γλῶ |¹³ σαι ..., des. ... δεσπότην |²⁰ πάντ(ων) καὶ ἁωρατῶν τε ... τημὴ καὶ πρ(οσ) |²³ κύνησις τῷ Π(ατ)ρὶ καὶ τῷ |²⁴ Υἱῷ· καὶ τῷ αγίῳ Πν(εύματι) |²⁵ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶν(ας) |²⁶ ἀμήν. BHG³ 1145p; CPG 8009; PG 98, 319B-340A.

23. (ff. 183.1-184.7) Sermon of the archbishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom on the holy Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and on the arrest (Johannis Chrysostomi Homiliae in resurrectionem Dominio), κεφαλα Κ' (in right margin) 'Ιωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταν |² τίνου πόλεως τοῦ Χρισοστόμου· |³ λόγος εἰς τ(ὴν) ἀγίαν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Κ(υρίου) υἱοῦ ἡμῶν Ι(ησοῦ) υἱοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ)· (καὶ) περὶ τῆς κουστοδίας |⁵ εὐλόγησον δαίσποτα· :+ cod. Inc. Ἀνέστη τριήμερος ὁ Κ(ύριος)· ζῶν τῷ |⁷ κοσμῷ δορούμενος· καὶ ἴδου τῆς |⁸

κουστοδίας ἐλθόντες· πρὸς τοὺς |⁹ Ἰουδαίους εἶπον ἡγέρθη ἀπὸ τὸν νε |¹⁰ κρὸν·
 Ι(ησοῦ)ς ..., des. ... νεκροὶ γεγώνασιν· (καὶ) σκεψάμ(εν)οι |² πρὸς αὐτοὺς ;
 ἀργύρια ἤκανα ἔδο |³ καν τοῖς στρατοιώταις· ἵνα εἶπο |⁴ σιν· ὅτι ημῶν
 κοιμωμέν(ων)· ἐλ |⁵ θόντες ἐκλεψαν αὐτὸν· αὐτῷ ἡ δό |⁶ ξα καὶ το κρατος εἰς
 τοὺς αἰῶνας |⁷ ἀμήν. CPG 5527; PG 61, 733-738. ⁵³

24. (ff. 184.8-186^v.14) <Sermon of Paul of Monembasia> on the woman who went to abbot Neophytus to confess her sins (*Narratio de muliere nobili ad Neophytum abbatem sua confitente*), λόγ(ος) κ' (in right margin) *Περὶ τῆς γυναῖκος τῆς ἀπελθοῦσης* |⁹ εἰς τὸν ἀβὰν Νεῶφυτον· τοῦ ἐξα |¹⁰ γγέλαι τὰ πλήμελήματα αὐτῆς |¹¹ δέσποτα εὐλόγησον· : + cod. Inc. Ο ἀοιδύμος Εὐθύμιος· ὁ ἐναρετος |¹³ μοναχὸς· καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἱερεὺς· ὁ ἐν |¹⁴ τη μονῇ τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν). 'Αρ |¹⁵ σενίδου τοῦ νάιου· τὴν ἀσκητικ(ήν) |¹⁶ πολητίαν ..., des. ... τιμὴ καὶ κράτος· τῷ Π(ατ)ρί καὶ |¹² τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πν(εύματι)· νῦν καὶ |¹³ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶν |¹⁴ νον ἀμήν :+ . BHG 1449m; ed. John Wortley, *Les Récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie et d' autres auteurs*, in the series *Sources d' Histoire médiévale publiées par l' Institut de Recherche et d' Histoire des Textes*, C.N.R.S., Paris 1987, (tale no. 4, pp. 46-51); cf. also id., "Paul of Monembasia and his Stories", *Καθηγήτρια . Essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th birthday*, Camberley 1988, 303-315, esp. 315; id., *The spiritually beneficial Tales of Paul, Bishop of Monembasia and of other authors; introduction, translation and commentary*, Kalamazoo, Michigan - Spencer, Massachusetts 1996, (tale no. 4, pp. 74-77, and 172-174 for notes). Wortley is not using *Canonicus graecus* 19 in his edition, although it seems that he should have known the text's existence in this manuscript since he quotes in his studies the article by Athanasio Kominis, "Paolo di Monembasia", *Byzantion* 29-30 (1959-1960), 231-248, where a full listing of all the then known manuscripts and editions of the tales is given.

25. (ff. 186^v.15-190.27) *Sermon on the decapitation of the sainted prophet and Baptist Ioannes Prodromos* (*Narratio de decollatione Johannis Baptistæ*), λόγ(ος) κα' (placed above the title) Λόγος εἰς τ(ὴν) αποτομήν τοῦ ἁγί |¹⁶ οὐ προφήτου Προδρόμου καὶ Βα |¹⁷ πτίστοῦ Ἰωάννου : δέσποτα εὐλόγησον· :- cod. Inc. 'Εγένετο

⁵³ The beginning of this text is the same as text no. 32 (f. 233.1); see below.

τεσαρακοστοῦ τῆς βασιλεί¹⁹ ας· Αὐγούστου Ἡρώδου· γεννη²⁰ θέντος κατα
σάρκα τοῦ Κ(υρίου)υ ἡμ(ῶν) ..., des. ... ἃ¹⁸ νείλωσαν τὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ·¹⁹
ταῦτα πάντα ἔγραψα ἐγὼ Εὐρίππος·²⁰ ὁ δεύτερος τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ·²¹
κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν εἰς δόξαν²² καὶ ἔπενον ...²⁷ ... ἀμήν. BHG³ 833e.

26. (ff. 190^v.1-197.9) **The Life and Conduct of the sainted and glorious apostle Constantine and Helen; how he campaigned towards the river called Danube, in the land of the East** (*Vita et mores Constantini et Helenæ, et de itinere eorum ad Danubium flumen*), κεφαλα κα' (below the top decoration) Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐν² δόξου ἀποστόλου· Κωνσταντίνου³ καὶ Ἑλένης· πῶς ἐστράτευσ(εν)⁴ ἐπὶ τ(ὸν) ποταμ(ὸν) τὸν καλούμενον Δα⁵ νούβην· χώραν τῆς ανατολῆς·⁶ δέσποτα εὐλόγησον· : + cod. Inc. Ἐν ἐτῇ εὐδώμῳ τῆς βασιλεί(ας)· Κων⁸ σταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου· βασιλέ(ως) ση⁹ νύχθησαν πλήθη βαρβάρων· ἐπὶ¹⁰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον ..., des. ... τὸν υἱὸν τῆς μακαρίας· τ(ὸν)⁶ ἐκπεφθέντα ὑπο σοῦ· εἰ μὴν γ(ὰρ) ἐκ σοῦ·⁷ οὐκ ἂν τοσαύτας δυνάμεις ἐποίήσ(εν)·⁸ αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα κ(αὶ) τῷ κρατος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν·+⁹ τέλος·- BHG³ 366g.

27. (ff. 197.10-203.27) **Encomium of our sainted father Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, on Saint Mary, the Mother of God, and on Saint Anna, and on Symeon, on the day of the Purification** (*Oratio in occursum domini*), λ'ό'γο'ς κβ' (in left margin) Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π(ατ)ρὸς ἡμ(ῶν)· Ἀμφιλοχίου·¹¹ ἐπισκόπου· Εἰνίου· ἐγκόμιον εἰς τὴν¹² ἁγίαν Μαρίαν τὴν Θεοτόκον· καὶ εἰς τὴν¹³ ἁγίαν Ἀνναν· καὶ εἰς τ(ὸν) Συμεῶνα·¹⁴ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς Ὑπαπαντῆς· : δέσποτα εὐλόγησον· : cod. Inc. Πολλοὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἀν(θρώπων), τὴν παρθε¹⁶ νίαν θαυμάσαντες· κ(αὶ) γὰρ ἄλλη¹⁷ θῶς ..., des. ... ἴδεται²⁰ το σημεῖον τῆς παλαιᾶς κ(αὶ) τῆς νέας· αὐτὸς²¹ ἐ(στὶ) ὁ σ(αυ)ρος ὅτε κ(αὶ) νῦν τὸν κόσμων ἁγίᾳ²² ζων· κ(αὶ) σώζων διὰ τοῦ Κ(υρίου)υ ἡμ(ῶν)²³ Ι(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ· : αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κρά²⁴ τὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας·²⁵ τῶν αἰῶνων²⁶ :· ἀμήν··²⁷ τέλος. BHGⁿ 1964; CPG 3232; PG 39, 44C-60A; *Amphilochii Iconiensis opera (orationes, pluraque alia quae supersunt, nonnulla etiam spuria)*, ed. C. Datema, *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca* 3, Turnhout 1978, 36-73.

28. (ff. 203^v.1-214^v.18) **Sermon of the sainted and the wholly blessed Apostle James, bishop of Jerusalem on the**

Nativity of the supremely holy Mother of God and our Lady Mother of God (Protevangelium Jacobi, naratio de natalibus Jesu Christi et matris eius Mariæ), λόγ(ος) κγ' (in top margin) ἐλεήσόν K(υρι)ε X(ριστ)έ :+ (above the title) Τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ πανεφήμου· ἀποστολου· |² Ἰακόβου ἐπισκόπου· Ἱεροσωλύμων· |³ λόγος εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τῆς ὑπεραγί(ας) Θε(οτό)κου |⁴ καὶ Δεσποίνης ἡμ(ῶν) Θε(οτό)κου· εὐ·λο·γησον· δέ·σποτα :+ |⁵ δι' εὐχῶν τῶν ἁγίων :- cod. Inc. 'Εν ταῖς ἱστορίαις· τῶν δώδεκα φίλῶν |⁷ τοῦ 'Ι(σρα)ήλ· ἦν τοῖς ἀνὴρ ὄνομα Ἰωᾶ |⁸ κείμ· πλούσιος σφόδρα· καὶ προ |⁹ σέφερεν τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ διπλὰ ..., des. ... χαίρων (δὲ) καὶ δοξάζων τὸν Θε(ό)ν τὸν δόν |² τα μοῖ σοφί(αν)· τοῦ γράψαι τ(ὴν) ἱστορί(αν) |³ ταύτην· ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει πάσα |⁴ δόξα τιμὴ κ(αὶ) προσκύνησις ... |¹⁷ ... ἀμήν :- |¹⁸ τέλος. BHG³ 1046; CANT 50.

29. (ff. 215.1-217^v.14) Sermon and discourse of our holy father Niphon (Narratio de S. Nimpho), λόγ(ος) κδ' (in top margin) Λόγος καὶ διάλλεξις· τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν) |² Νίμφου· δέσποτα εὐλόγησον :-+ cod. Inc. ' Ἀλλότε πάλιν καθεζομένου τοῦ μακα |³ ρίου εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ· πρ(ὸ)ς ἦλθεν αὐ |⁴ τῷ ὀφελείας· χάριν τις ..., des. ... τὰ τοῦ κόσμου τερπνὰ |⁸ ἑκατὸνταπλασίονα ἐτοιμάζων τὰ αὐ |⁹ τῷ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐ(ρα)νῶν· (καὶ) |¹⁰ ὁ ἔχων ὧτα ἀκουην ἀκουέτω· |¹¹ αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα |¹² καὶ τὸ κρατος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶ |¹³ νας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν |¹⁴ τέλος+. BHG³ 1372d; ed. F. Halkin, "La vie de Saint Niphon, ermite au Mont Athos (XIV^e siècle)", *Analecta Bollandiana* 58 (1940), 5-27.

30. (ff. 217^v.15-219.23) Book of exhortation of our holy father Ephraim the Syrian, and on his life (Narratio de S. Ephraem Syro), λο·γ(ος) κε' (in right margin) Βίβλος παρενέσεων· τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς |¹⁶ ἡμῶν 'Εφρὲμ τοῦ Σύρου· καὶ περι τοῦ |¹⁷ βίου αὐτοῦ· εὐλόγησον π(άτ)ερ :-+ cod. Inc. Γέγωνεν τίς ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ ἀνὴρ· ὄνό |¹⁹ ματι 'Εφρὲμ· Σύρος τὸ γένος· οὗτος |²⁰ ὁ ἄν(θρωπ)ος θεοσεβεὶς ἦν· ἀπεχόμενος ..., des. ... ἀπο τοῦ βορβόρου κ(αὶ) |¹⁸ τοῦ σπύλου τῆς ἁμαρτίας· τῷ (δὲ) Θε(ε)ῷ |¹⁹ ἡμ(ῶν) σὺν τῷ μονογεννῇ αὐτοῦ Υἱῷ· καὶ |²⁰ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πν(εύματ)ι· εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ἀμήν... |²³ τέλος. BHG³ 586c.

31. (ff. 219^v.1-232^v.26) Sermon on the occasion of the holy and Good Friday of our sainted father, the archbishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom on the betrayal of our Lord Jesus Christ, and on the holy and life-giving Cross

(**De proditione Iudae**), λόγος κς' (in top margin) Λόγος τῇ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλῃ Παρασκευῇ τοῦ ε |² ν αγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου· ἀρχιῆ |³ πισκόπου· Κωνσταντίνουπόλεως· |⁴ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου· περὶ τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ |⁵ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ· καὶ εἰς τον τίμιον και |⁶ ζωοποιόν, στ(αυ)ρὸν : εὐλόγησον δέσποτα cod. Inc. Δεύρω υἱέ μου ἀγαπητέ· καὶ περι τῆς |⁸ προδωσίας τοῦ Ἰούδα ἱστορήσω τον |⁹ λόγον· παρέμενεν ὁ ἰδιόβολος τ(οῖς) |¹⁰ ἰουδαίοις· κ(αὶ) οὐκ ἀναχορῶν ..., des. ... ἀνα |¹³ στάς ἐκ νεκρ(ῶν)· τῷ κόσμῳ ἔδωρήσα |¹⁴ τω ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον· κ(αὶ) τὸν ἄ |¹⁵ θην πατήσας· καὶ νεκρώσας κατηρ |¹⁶ γήθι· καὶ ἀνελθὼν πάλιν εἰς οὐ(ρανὸν)ν (καὶ), |¹⁷ σὺν πᾶσι τῇ δέσει· καὶ δόξα αὐ |¹⁸ τοῦ, κατέλοιπεν· ἡμᾶς διδάσκεσθαι· |¹⁹ ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ· καὶ δο |²⁰ ξάζων τὸ πανάγιον ὄνομα αὐτοῦ |²¹ νῦν καὶ |²² ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς |²³ τοὺς αἰ |²⁴ ὠνας |²⁵ τῶν αἰῶνων ἀμήν |²⁶ τέλος. BHG³ 635v; CPG 5523; PG 86, 525A-536B.

32. (ff. 233.1-238^v.5) **Sermon of the archbishop of Constantinople, John Chrysostom on the Resurrection on the third day of our Lord Jesus Christ (Homilia in triduanam resurrectionem Jesu Christi)**, λόγος κς' (in right margin) Λόγος, εἰς τὴν τρίτημερον ἀνάστασιν τοῦ |² Κ(υρίο)υ, ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ· Ἰωάννου· ἀρχιῆπισκόπου |³ Κωνσταντίνουπόλεως, τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου εὐλόγησον cod. Inc. Ἀνέστη τρίτημερος ὁ Κ(ύριος), ζῶν τῷ κόσμῳ |⁵ δωρούμενος, κ(αὶ) ἰδοὺ τινὲς τῆς κου |⁶ στωδίας ἐλθόντες, πρ(ὸς) τοὺς Ἰουδαί |⁷ ους εἶπον· ἡγέρθη ..., des. ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάς· καὶ φωτί |⁸ σας, τὰ παντα, αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τῷ |¹ κράτος· ... |³ καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας |⁴ τῶν |⁵ αἰῶνων ἀμήν. CPG 5527; PG 61, 733-738.⁵⁴

33. (ff. 238^v.6-244.6) **Sermon of our holy father Ephraim the Syrian on the Passion of our saviour Jesus Christ (Sermo de passione Salvatoris)**, κη' (in left margin) Τοῦ ὁσίου, π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς, ἡμῶν, Ἐφραίμ, τοῦ Σύρου, |⁷ λόγος, περὶ τοῦ πάθους, τοῦ σ(ωτή)ρ(ο)ς ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ |⁸ Χ(ριστο)ῦ :· εὐλόγησον δέσποτα cod. Inc. Φοβοῦμαι, τοῦ λαλήσαι, καὶ τῇ γλώσσει |¹⁰ ἄψασθαι· εἰς τὴν φοβερὰν ταύτην, δι |¹¹ ἥ γησὶν τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ· φόβος γὰρ ὄντως ἐ(στὶ), πε |¹² ρὶ ταύτης λαλήσαι· ὅτι ὁ Κ(ύριος) ἡμῶν σή |¹³ μερον παραδόθη, εἰς χεῖρας ἁμαρτω |¹⁴ λῶν· ἕνεκεν τίνος, ἄρα ..., des. ... δόξα σοι, τῶν θελήσαντι, σῶσαι, ἁμαρ |³ τωλὸν, ἐμὲ διὰ πολλοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς, |⁴ τῆς αὐτοῦ εὐσπλαγχνίας· ὧ ἡ δόξα |⁵ καὶ τὸ κράτος· εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰ |⁶ ὶνων ἀμήν :+. BHG^a 450k, BHGⁿ 450k; CPG 4025.

⁵⁴ The beginning of this text is the same as text no. 23 (f. 183.1); see above.

34. (ff. 244.7-257.29) **Sermon of our sainted father, <archbishop> of Constantinople, John Chrysostom on the confession of the sinful and repentant people, and the return from an evil deed and on those who contaminated the holy baptism in impurities, fornication, adultery and on all demonic works (Sermo de confessione, de paenitentia, de baptismo),** λόγος κθ' (in right margin) Λόγος, τοῦ ἐν αγίοις), π(α)τρ(ὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν), Κωνσταντίνου) πό⁸ λε(ως), Ιωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου περὶ ἐξομολογήσεως⁹ ἁμαρτωλῶν, κ(αὶ) μετανοοῦντων ἀν(θρώπων).¹⁰ καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς, ἀπὸ πον(η)ρὰς πράξεως¹¹ καὶ περὶ τοὺς μολύναντες, τὸ ἅγιον βαπτισ¹² μα· ἐν ἀκαθαρσίαις πορνίαις μὴ¹³ χίαις· καὶ πάσ(ης) δαιμονικῆς ἐργασί(ας) :¹⁴ εὐλόγησον δέσποτα :+ cod. Inc. ' Ἀρχὴ σοφί(ας) φόβος θεοῦ, ἀρχὴ σ(ωτη)ρίας κ(αὶ) γνῶ¹⁶ σεως ἀγαθῆς, καὶ διορθώσεως ψυχῆς,¹⁷ καὶ σώματος, καὶ ..., des. ... ἐὰν κα²³ ταβῶ, εἰς τὸν ἄδην· πάρει κ(αὶ) πάλι(ν),²⁴ Κ(ύριο)ς θανατοῖ, κ(αὶ) ζωογονεῖ, κατὰγει ἐ(ὼς)²⁵ ἄδου, κ(αὶ) ...²⁷ αἰῶνων ἀμήν :+²⁸ τέλος²⁹ τέλος. CPG 4864.

35. (ff. 257^v.1-260.26) **Sermon on the monastic life : if a brother joins the monastic life (De vita monastica),** λ' (in left margin) Λόγος· ἐὰν σὺμβεῖ ἀδελφὸς ἐν² τῷ μονύρει βίω· εὐλόγησον δέσποτα :+³ δι' εὐχῶν τῶν ἀγίων) :+⁴ π(ατέ)ρων :- cod. Inc. ' Εὖαν σὺμβῇ ἀδελφόν· ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸ⁶ μονήρη βίον· ἐξ οἰδίας ποτέ προ⁷ φάσεως· κ(αὶ) μηνύσει· εὐθὺς καὶ⁸ παραχρῆμα· κατὰπεινη αὐτ(ῶν) ὁ δι⁹ ἄβολος· ἄρχεται γὰρ ὁ πονηρὸς ..., des. ... εὐρέθη κύρυξ τῆς πίστεως·²⁰ πολλοὶ γ(ὰρ) οἱ οἰκτίρμοι τοῦ Κ(υρίου)· ἐπὶ²¹ τοὺς καλουμένους αὐτῶν ἐν α²² ληθείᾳ· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα²³ καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶ²⁴ νας τῶν αἰῶνων ἀμήν ...²⁶ + : τέλος :· Probably Ephraim the Syrian.⁵⁵

36. (ff. 260^v.1-261^v.17) **Sermon on humility (Sermo de humilitate),** λα' (in top margin) Λόγος, περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης· εὐ² λόγησον :+ δι' εὐχῶν τῶν ἀγίων) :+ cod. Inc. ' Ἐπιδῆ, ἐπερωτήσατε μαθεῖν περὶ τὰ⁴ πεινωφροσύνης· καγὼ, οὐκ ωκνήσω,⁵ μετὰδοῦναι ἐξ ὧν, ἔμαθον, παρὰ⁶ τῶν π(ατέ)ρων· σὺντόμως οὖν ἐρῶ, τ(ῶν)⁷ πάντων, ..., des. ... ἐν τοῦτοις πληροῦται τὸ¹³ γεγραμμένον· πῶς ὁ ὑψῶν¹⁴ ταπεινωθήσε¹⁵ται·¹⁶ νῦν κ(αὶ)

⁵⁵ The text contained in ff. 257^v-260 needs further study to identify it with precision.

ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰών(ων) |¹⁷ ἀμήν. Probably Ephraim the Syrian.⁵⁶

37. (ff. 261^v.18-267^v.24) **Sermon of our holy father Ephraim on the remembrance of death (Sermo de recordatione mortis)**, λόγ(ος) λβ' (in left margin) Λόγος, τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν) 'Εφραίμ πε |¹⁹ ρὶ μνήμ(ης) θανάτου· εὐλόγησον δέσποτα :+ cod. Inc. Δεῦτε π(ατέ)ρες, κ(αὶ) ἀδελφοὶ· μνημονεύ |²¹ σωμεν, τοῦ τέλους ἡμῶν τ(ήν) ἔξοδον, |²² κ(αὶ) τοῦ χωρίσμου, τῆς ψυχῆς· ὅταν ἐξέρ |²³ χεται, ἐκ του σώματος ..., des. ... ἡ ὥρα ἐκείνη ἡ φοβερὰ· |¹⁶ πρ(ὸ)σ)πέσωμεν ἐν μετανοίᾳ καὶ ἔξομο |¹⁷ λόγησοι· πρ(ὸ)ς τ(ὸν) εὐσπλαχνον Θε(εὸ)ν ἡμ(ῶν)· |¹⁸ ὅτι πρέπει πᾶσα ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ |¹⁹ κρατος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ |²⁰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ... |²⁴ ... ἀμήν : -. CPG 3908.

38. (ff. 268.1-273.26) **Miracle of the sainted great martyr George (Narratio de S. Georgii martyris miraculo)**, λγ' (in top margin and also in right margin) Θάυμα τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρ(ος) Γεωργί |² ου εὐλόγησον δέσποτα :+ cod. Inc. 'Εν τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκείνοις τοῦ μεγάλου κ(αὶ) |⁴ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν βασιλέ(ως)· Θεοδωσί |⁵ ου· ἦν τίς ἄν(θρωπ)ος ἡ ἐκ Καππαδόκεις· |⁶ ὀνόματι Θεόπιστος ..., des. ... καὶ κατέτεθεν ἐν τῷ |²⁰ ναῷ αὐτοῦ, μεγαλομάρτυ(υ)ρος Γεωργ(ίου) ... |²¹ ἀνήγηραν αὐτὸς κ(αὶ) μεσημέρας ·ζ'· |²² ἐκοιμήθη· κ(αὶ) ὁμόζυγος αὐτοῦ· τῷ |²³ δὲ Θε(ε)ῷ πρέπει δόξ(α) κ(αὶ) |²⁴ τημὴ καὶ κρατος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶ |²⁵ νας τῶν αἰώνων |²⁶ ἀμήν τέλος. BHG³ 689.

39. (ff. 273^v.1-278.21) **Sermon of our sainted father John Chrysostom on the sins of the priests (Homilia de peccatis sacerdotum)**, λδ' (in top margin) Λόγος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμ(ων), Ιωάν(ν)ου· |² τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου περὶ ἐγκλημ(ά)τ(ων) ἱερέων :- |³ εὐλόγησον· π(άτ)ερ :- cod. Inc. 'Ακοῦσατε ἱερεῖς κ(υρί)ου διάκων(οι) καὶ ἀναγνώ |⁵ σται· νομικοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι· κ(αὶ) |⁶ οἱ ἔχοντες ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν εἰς κιν(ὸν) |⁷ λαὸν· φοβήθητε ..., des. ... ὅταν λάβει ἕκα |⁸ στος τ(ήν) ἐργασίαν τοῦ παρόντος βίου πᾶ |⁹ ρα τοῦ παντοκράτορος κ(αὶ) ἐλεήμονος |¹⁰ Θε(ε)οῦ· ὅτι πάντα ἐδηλώθησαν· παρὰ |¹¹ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ εὐσπλαχνίας κ(αὶ) μακροθυ |¹² μίας |¹³ ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει δό |¹⁴ ξα καὶ κράτος· καὶ ἡ βα |¹⁵ σίλειά· καὶ ἡ δύναμις |¹⁶ τοῦ Π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ |¹⁷ τοῦ ἁγίου Πν(εύ)ματος

⁵⁶ Further study is needed for the text contained in ff. 260^v-261^v for its precise identification.

νυν καὶ |¹⁸ αἰὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας |¹⁹ τ(ῶν) αἰώνων |²⁰ ἀμὴν |²¹ τέλος. CPG 4849.

40. (ff. 278^v.1-283^v.21) **The Life and Conduct of our holy father Ioannes the hermit, known as *xenos*. I, Ioannes the monk and the hermit, known as *xenos*, commanded** (*Vita S. Iohannis eremitae, cognomine Xenni*), λόγ(ος) λε' (in left margin) Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρ(ὸς) |² ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐρημίτου τοῦ |³ τῇ ἐπονομίᾳ ξέννου· Ἰωάννης |⁴ μοναχὸς· ὁ τῇ ἐπονομίᾳ ξένος |⁵ καὶ ἐρημίτης προσέταξα· |⁶ εὐλόγησον δέσποτα· <δ'ι' ευχ(ῶν) (before ι of word δι' there is a space for letter δ that should had been added later by the rubricator) cod. Inc. Πηγὴ ἀφθαρσίας ὑπάρχων ὁ θε(ὸς) ἡμ(ῶν) |⁸ ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ (δὲ), τὸ πρῶτον ἐδημῖ |⁹ οὐργησεν ἄν(θρωπ)ον ..., des. ... ἡ μεσήτρια τοῦ |⁹ κόσμου συγχωρήσει |¹⁰ αὐτοῖς· πάν |¹¹ τα τὰ ὁ |¹² φιλήμα |¹³ τα |¹⁴ αὐτῶν· |¹⁵ ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι |¹⁶ κ(αὶ) ἐν τῷ μέλλον |¹⁷ τι νῦν |¹⁸ κ(αὶ) αἰὲ |¹⁹ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας των αἰ |²⁰ ὧν ἀμὴν |²¹ τέλος. BHG³ 2196; ed. Hippolyte Delehaye, *Deux Typica Byzantins de l' époque des Paléologues*, Bruxelles 1921, 188-196 (Appendice. Le Testament de Jean l' Étranger); Νικόλαος Τωμαδάκης, "Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἡ διαθήκη αὐτοῦ", *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 2 (1948), 47-72; Νικόλαος Τωμαδάκης, "Ἀγιολογικὰ καὶ Ὑμνολογικὰ. Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ Ἐρημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ. 10ος-11ος αἰών", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 46 (1983-1986), 1-117.

41. (ff. 284.1-289.11) **Teaching of the abbot Makarius to the monks** (*Macarii abbatis monita ascetica ad monachos*), λς' (in right margin) Διδασκαλία τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μακαρίου |² εἰς μοναχοὺς· δέσποτα εὐλόγησον· : cod. Inc. Διηγῆσαντό μοι ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἡσαΐας· ὁ |⁴ τι καθεζομένου μου ποτὲ· πλη |⁵ σίον τοῦ ἀββᾶ Μακαρίου· ἐπτα |⁶ ἀδελφοὶ ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρίας· πει |⁷ ράζοντες αὐτὸν καὶ λέγοντες ..., des. ... εἰς τ(ὴν) βασιλείαν τῶν οὐ(ρα)νῶν· γινώ |³ μεν ἀδελφοὶ καὶ εὐλογημ(ένοι)· ὅτι καὶ |⁴ ὑπὲρ αργοῦ λόγου· |⁵ λόγον δώ |⁶ σω |⁷ μ(εν) Κ(υρί)ω τῷ Θε(ε)ῷ ἡμῶν ... |¹⁰ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας |¹¹ :: ἀμὴν :- .⁵⁷

42. (ff. 289.12-294.27) **Sermon of our holy father Zosimus** (*Narratio de vita Zosimæ abbatis*), λόγ(ος) λς' (in right margin)

⁵⁷ The text contained in ff. 284.1-289.11 needs further study in order to identify it with certainty (cf. [?] BHG³ 999g-y, CPG 2410-27).

Λόγος τῶν ἁγίων μακαρίων τοῦ ὁσίου |¹³ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμῶν· Ζωσίμου·
 εὐλόγησον :+ cod. Inc. Κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν· ἐν τῇ ἐρή |¹⁵ μω ἦν·
 παρακαλῶν τὸν Θ(εὸ)ν· ὑπάρ |¹⁶ χων ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι Ζώσιμος· ὡς ..., des. ... καὶ
 ἐγὺ μνώσαμεν τὰ σώματα ἡ |²⁸ μ(ὠν)· κ(αὶ) κεράμιον οἴνου οὐκ ἐπίωμ(εν)· κ(αὶ)
 |²⁹ ἄρτον ἐκ πυρὸς οὐκ ἐφάγωμ(εν)· κ(αὶ) πρ(οσ)εὐξωμ(ε)θα ... |²⁶ καὶ τὸ
 κρατος... |²⁷ ... ἀμὴν :+. BHG³ 1890b.

43. (ff. 294^v.1-312.28) **Remembrance of the sainted and glorious great martyr George, together with his life and his miracles (Recordatio vitæ et miraculorum S. Georgii Martyris)**, λόγ(ος) λη' (in left margin) Μνήμη τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγα |² λομάρτυρος Γεωργίου· σὺν τῷ βί |³ ω αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν θαυμ(ά)τ(ων) αὐτοῦ |⁴ εὐλόγησον· δι' εὐχ(ῶν) τ(ῶν) :+ cod. Inc. 'Εγὼ Παγκράτιος κ(αὶ) δουλ(ος) τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλο |⁶ μάρτυρος κ(αὶ) ἀθλοφόρου Γεωργίου· δι' |⁷ γοῦμε ἅπερ οἰκίοις ὀφθαλμ(οῖς) ἴδων· κ(αὶ) |⁸ ὥσιν ἀκήκοα· οἶα κ(αὶ) ὧσα ἔπαθ(εν) ..., des. ... καὶ κλίνας τὸν |¹⁵ αὐχένα ἐτελιώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ξίφους· |¹⁶ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπίστευσαν· ἐπὶ |¹⁷ τὸν Κ(ύριον) ἡμῶν 'Ι(ησοῦ)ν Χ(ριστὸ)ν· ... |¹⁹ ... ἐτελει |²⁰ ὠθη καὶ ὁ ἅγιος μεγαλομάρτυς Γε |²¹ ὡργίος μαρτυρίσας· ἐν ... |²⁶ ... ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέ |²⁷ πη δό(ξα) τίμη· καὶ πρὸς κύνησις τῷ Γ(ατ)ρί· |²⁸ καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγί(ω)· Πν(εύματ)ι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ... + . BHG³ 670b-c.

44. (ff. 312^v.1-313.27) **Versicles (stichera) of the saint great martyr George to the heavens**, στίχερά τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου· πρὸς |² τῶν οὐ(ρα)νί(ων) : + cod. Inc. Δεῦτε φιλέορτοι πάντες ·· ἀνεφημή |⁴ σωμεν ·· τῶν τοῦ Χ(ριστοῦ) ὀπλήτην καὶ |⁵ γενναῖον φωστῆρα ·· Γεώργιον τὸν μί |⁶ σθην ·· τῆς θείας ..., des. ... μὴ φοβοῦ· |¹³ Γεώργιε· τὸν τροχῶν ἐσυνέθλα |¹⁴ σα τοῖς μαγκάνοις συνέτριψα· |¹⁵ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπέστειλα· |¹⁶ ἵνα ἐσβέσει τὴν |¹⁷ καμίνον· |¹⁸ καὶ |¹⁹ ὁ τύραννος ἔφυσ(εν)· πρ(ὸς) |²⁰ τὸν ἅγιον μάρτυ |²¹ ραν ... καὶ ὁ ἅγιος ἔλεγεν· ὁ Χ(ριστὸς) μου ἐ |²³ προῆφθασ(εν)· ὁ πολυῆλεος |²⁴ εὐσπλαχνος· ἵνα σώσει τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμ(ῶν) : + . cf. Henrica Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, vol. 1, Città del Vaticano 1960, 298.

45. (ff. 313^v.1-314^v.28) **Sermon of our holy father Ephraim the Syrian on the fear of God (Sermo de timore Dei)**, λόγ(ος) λθ' (in top margin) Λόγος τοῦ ὁσίου π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν), 'Εφραίμ τοῦ |² Σύρου περὶ φόβου Θ(εο)ῦ· εὐλόγησον |³ δέσποτα :+ δι' εὐχ(ῶν) τῶν ἁγίων :+ cod. Inc.

Μακάριος, οὖν ὁ ἄν(θρωπ)ος ὡς ἔχει φόβον Θεοῦ |⁴ πάντοτε ἐν εαυτῷ· ὅτι οὕτως γὰρ |⁵ προφανῶς, · καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος με |⁶ μακαρίσται· ὅτε μακάριος, ἀνὴρ ..., des. ... τῆς οἰκουμένης· τερ ... [des. mut. ⁵⁸

The manuscript *Canonicus graecus 19* contains a remarkable number of pseudo-epigraphic texts along with a high number of pious stories and *Lives*. Most of these texts belong to roughly the same category of doubtfully authentic texts.⁵⁹ The presence of some items (i.e. item numbers 10, 17, 24, 29, 30, 35, 36, 41, 42) imply that these texts were intended to be read to a monastic (and not a lay) audience. Four texts (item numbers 12, 38, 43, 44) are devoted to Saint George, a saint particularly dear to Xenos (three of his eight monastic foundations were dedicated to him). Thus, the criteria of the compiler(s) in choosing these texts seem to be "pious" texts chosen from "secondary" sources (which is the reason for the plethora of doubtfully authentic texts) for a monastic (probably not highly educated) group which was perhaps linked with Ioannes Xenos' monastic foundations. This possibility can be strengthened by the presence of the *Life* of Ioannes Xenos in the manuscript.

⁵⁸ Further study is needed in order to identify the text contained in ff. 313^v-314^v (cf. [?] CPG 3911).

⁵⁹ Almost all texts contained in the manuscript need to be studied separately in order to identify them with precision and certainty.

2. Palaeographical study

The *Life of Ioannes Xenos* is contained in codex *Oxon. Bodl. Canonicus graecus 19*, ff. 278^v-283^v (first folio nos. 276^v-281^v).¹ The text, copied by scribe F who has contributed in copying the largest part of the manuscript (ff. 123-314^v), appears in black ink which has faded in the course of time to dark brown. It is written consecutively in single columns of 22-30 lines per page and 26-34 letters per line (written surface 130x80 mm.; marginal space: top and bottom 20 mm., right 30 mm., left 15 mm.). The script is minuscule mixed with certain capital letter forms, and follows the style of the scriptorium of the monastery τῶν Ὁδηγῶν in Constantinople.²

The text is introduced by an ornamental headpiece in black and red ink covering the space of 2-3 lines. It is rectangular, symmetrical and geometric consisting of repeat curvilinear patterns of a branching-scroll. This is followed by the heading in slightly larger letter-forms; it is written in black ink with certain red initials (B of Βίος; τ of τοῦ ὁσίου; ι of ἰωάννου; τ of τοῦ ἐρημίτου; κ of καί). The elaborate, rubricated major initial Π is placed on the margin expanding over 6 lines. Similarly, rubricated minor initials are placed in the margin, introducing paragraphs.³ The text in the manuscript is divided in twenty paragraphs. The positions of the original paragraphs-signs (i.e. the rubricated minor initials) seem to be haphazard and they are not a help to reading aloud; it seems that they are purely decorative and that the manuscript was not intended to be only for public reading. The end of paragraphs is marked with a colon and a cross (: +). In the left margin of the introductory folio (f. 278^v) the item number of the text appears: λόγος (in red) λε' (no. 35, in black ink).⁴ The text concludes with a symmetrical colophon in the form of lozenges (f. 283^v) (see photos 4 and 5).





















¹ For the first and second folio numbering, and the collation of the manuscript, see pp. 106-109.

² On this hand (F) and the style, see pp. 110-112.

³ On the ornamentation of headpieces, headings, major and minor initials, see pp. 113-115.

⁴ For the marginal additions indicating the items of the manuscript, see p. 115.

The heading is followed by the phrase εὐλόγησον δέσποτα: <δ>ι' εὐχῶν, which usually appears in such texts.⁵ The letter ε of εὐλόγησον is rubricated while the rubricator did not execute the letter δ in δι' εὐχῶν, in f. 278^v and its space was left blank⁶. The word τέλος written in *monokondylia*, marks the end of the text (f. 283^v). The last two lines of the colophon are also written in *monokondyliae*. In the last folio of the text, there is an imitation of the abbreviated word καί, and also the phrase των δεσποτην ιμνυσουμε ω κτισδν φισιν added by a later hand⁷.

The script is clear and words are divided. The scribe uses conventional syllabic abbreviations at the end of words and lines and also in mid-text (e.g.  [εν],  [μενος],  [ήν],  [ὦν]), abbreviated forms of καί ( and ) and δέ () and contracted forms of nomina sacra with the characteristic dash on their top (e.g.  [πατήρ],  [θεός],  [μητήρ],  [ἰησοῦν],  [χριστόν],  [πατέρων],  [ἄνθρωπον],  [θεοτόκου]). Standard ligatures are used. Of special note are the ligatures for ει () and ἐπὶ (). It is noteworthy that the abbreviations for -ιν, -ην, and -υν, appear in similar way () which presents certain difficulty in identifying them. Similarly certain letter-forms for *epsilon* and *eta* look very much alike (). It is noteworthy that *beta* is represented by its archaic minuscule form ().

Large-sized smooth and rough breathings in round forms are used in the text. Similarly acute, grave and circumflex accents appear in large size. It is noteworthy that in compound words the scribe accentuated both the first and the second word (e.g. ἐξηλθον, πρόσέκτισάμην, ἀποκείρας, ἀποκαταστήσας, προσέμεινα). Mute *iota* is always omitted. The sign of *diaeresis* (¨) is usually placed over *iota* and *upsilon* anywhere in mid-word. The apostrophe is also used to mark elision of a vowel; however, in a single case the scribe erroneously puts an apostrophe after the word ἐξ (ἐξ'). Proper names appear in full or abbreviated form, occasionally with a single stroke placed over them (e.g. ἰω' for Ἰωάννης). Conventional

⁵ By this phrase the reader addresses the abbot or bishop who would then give his blessing for the reading of the passage to start; this convention is followed by the Orthodox Church to our days.

⁶ This omission by the rubricator was not identified by the previous editors of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos*; see relevant entry in the Commentary.

⁷ For this later hand, see Marginal notes and additions by later hands (hand no. 20).

punctuation signs that indicate degrees of pause in the text, are used. The scribe uses the following punctuation signs which indicate degrees of pause in the text: upper points (·) and middle points (·), used interchangeably; comma (,) and full stops (:-). Additionally, on some occasions the scribe puts numbers written in full between two dots (f. 282).

A very large number of spelling and accentuation mistakes is noted in the text; the spelling mistakes are mainly due to *parehesis*, while there are many omissions as well as many misplacements of accents and breathings (cf. above, examples on compound words). In a single case on f. 283 the scribe corrected a mistake by crossing out two words (εἰς τὴν in line 10).

3. Note on the previous editions and the conventions adopted in the present edition.

The *Life of Ioannes Xenos* was first edited (*editio princeps*) by Hippolyte Delehayé in 1921. It is contained in the appendix of his study *Deux typica byzantins de l' époque des Paléologues*, where the *Typikon for the monastery of Theotokos Bebaia Elpis* (composed sometime between 1327-1342) (pp. 18-105), and the *Typikon for the monastery of Lips* (composed in late 13th century), including the *Typikon for the monastery of Saints Kosmas and Damianos* (late 13th century) (pp. 106-140), are edited. This study is also included in Hippolyte Delehayé, *Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typica*, (Variorum Reprints Collected Series), London 1977, study vi.

Delehayé states in his study that he considered Xenos' case of special note as he was the founder of more than one monastic establishment by contrast with other known founders. He also considered interesting the fact that the text preserved in the manuscript *Canonicus graecus 19* is entitled Βίος καὶ πολιτεία (*Life and Conduct of Ioannes Xenos*), while it is actually a testament with elements found in monastic foundation documents (*typika*)¹. For these reasons, Delehayé proceeded to the critical edition and study of this document.² He placed it though, in an appendix as it was not connected with the other *typika* edited in the main body of the study.

In 1948, the Greek scholar Nikolaos Tomadakis re-edited the text. His study " 'Ο "Άγιος 'Ιωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἡ διαθήκη αὐτοῦ" (Saint Ioannes Xenos and his Testament) appeared as an article in the periodical *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 2 (1948), 47-72. Besides the critical edition, Tomadakis included in this study the edition of a popular version of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos*, dated to the 18th-19th centuries, and a short commentary, focusing his attention on the identification of the toponyms that appear in the text. His main

¹ See Hippolyte Delehayé, *Deux typica byzantins de l' époque des Paléologues*, Brussels 1921, 16 and 188.

² Edward Kurtz, whom Delehayé consulted for some points of his study, made one suggestion for a reading in Xenos' *Life*; cf. Commentary entry on l. 40: εὖρον [ἦν] ἄνω τοῦ ὄρους.

discussion concentrated on the identification of Ioannes Xenos with Ioannes Eremites.³

A second edition by Tomadakis appeared in his article "Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ Ἐρημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ. 10ος-11ος αἰών. Ἀγιολογικά καὶ Ὑμνολογικά", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 46 (1983-1986), 1-117. Tomadakis presented all the material he had collected regarding Xenos in this article, while in this second edition of the text he introduced and proposed more alternative readings. In the apparatus criticus of both editions Tomadakis refers to a manuscript's reading by Leledakis.⁴

In his study Delehayé stated that the majority of mistakes regarding the language of the text should be attributed to the author of the text rather than to the scribe. Thus, willing to maintain the text's features (*physionomie*), he did not attempt to correct phrases of stylistic clumsiness. The abundance of spelling mistakes were attributed by Delehayé to the scribe rather than to the author. However, mistakes that have been corrected, are noted in the apparatus criticus of his critical edition.⁵

In contrast, Tomadakis does not give any explanation so one would expect of him a critical edition characterised by consistency, clarity and accuracy. But he seems to be preoccupied by Delehayé's edition, following most of his readings, suggestions and consequently, his mistakes. Moreover, he does not try to propose solutions, especially in places where Delehayé had detected a problem but had not proposed a very convincing solution.

Delehayé divided the text into four (4) sections, without following the division into paragraphs as these appear in the manuscript.⁶ Tomadakis followed the division introduced by Delehayé. Regarding the division of folios, Tomadakis made a mistake; in both of his editions he erroneously read σπλάγ²⁷⁹χνων instead of the correct σπλά²⁷⁹γγων of the codex.

It seems that neither of the editors paid proper attention to the palaeographical aspect of the text, resulting in misreadings and misunderstandings. They did not recognise the correct use of

³ On this subject, see Introduction.

⁴ On this reading, cf. relevant entry in the Commentary, I. 86: εἰς τὸ Κυριακόν.

⁵ Delehayé, *Deux typica byzantins de l' époque des Paléologues*, 16-17 and 190.

⁶ See Chapter 4. 2.

punctuation signs introduced in the manuscript. As a result of not appreciating the simple paratactic sentence structure of the language and the cases of *asyndeton* appearing throughout the text, they introduced unjustified propositions and readings.⁷ The most characteristic example is the phrase in line 82 ἐποίησα περιβόλιν πολυτελές· δένδρα ἐν αὐτῷ κατεφύτευσα (I made a rich garden; I planted trees in it), read by both previous editors to mean "I made a garden <and> luxurious (or "many kinds of") trees I planted in it".⁸

Both editors failed to realise the special features of the language in which the text is written; word types appearing in the text were not simple and common mistakes but were alternative newer types that were in simultaneous use with the older ones. Both previous editors were not conscious of the linguistic elements attributable to the later Byzantine period (14th-15th centuries), and so they attempted to restore the language on many occasions. By such extensive corrections, they destroyed the authenticity of the text and its real nature and character. Additionally, in his second edition Tomadakis proceeded to an even more extensive "correction" of the text. He introduced alternative readings, that can usually be characterised as unjustified exaggerations. He applied an inappropriate level of correction as he did not realise that Xenos' text was a low style text written in a very simple language carrying linguistic elements of the later Byzantine period, when both old and new forms of words were used. The most characteristic examples of his unjustified corrections are: τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ for τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ (l. 14); ἐνεδείξατο for ἀνεδείξατο (l. 15); and γέγωνα for γέγονα (l. 14).⁹

The restoration of the text and the construction of the apparatus criticus in the editions by Delehay and Tomadakis, are characterised by inconsistency and inaccuracy. Even if Delehay stated at the beginning of his study that he was not going to correct all the mistakes of the manuscript so that he would not change its character, words like ἐπονυμία (for ἐπωνυμία in ll. 4 and 6) and καθέμενος (for καὶ θέμενος in l. 32) should have been corrected in the edition, since they are incorrect forms given in the manuscript. Tomadakis' edition is also lacking clarity and consistency, and can

⁷ Such problematic points are discussed in the Commentary.

⁸ On this phrase, see relevant entry in the Commentary.

⁹ Such corrections by Tomadakis are discussed in the Commentary.

be criticised even more strongly. The main observations that can be made about their editions, are:

1. Delehayе and Tomadakis fail to justify the corrections they make to the Greek text in the apparatus criticus; e.g. both editors corrected ἐνταῦτα of the manuscript to ἐνταῦθα (ll. 29 and 46) without mentioning it in the apparatus criticus. Thus, it is unclear if they have read the manuscript incorrectly or if they simply corrected the manuscript's reading without stating why.

2. Both editors do not separate the manuscript's reading from corrected reading. Sometimes they introduce a correction in the text and then give the manuscript's reading in the apparatus criticus while quite often they keep the manuscript's reading within the text by mentioning a different reading in the apparatus criticus. Thus the reader cannot form a clear idea of what is written in the manuscript and what is proposed by the editors.

3. Regarding the form of words the editors sometimes correct them by imposing the older classical Greek forms, while at other times they keep the newer forms that are found in the manuscript; e.g. ἐπροσήφειον carrying a double augment (l. 112) is kept intact while ἀνηχώρησα (ll. 65, 72 and 121) is changed to ἀνεχώρησα. The types of the reflexive pronoun found in the text are treated by Tomadakis similarly; some of them are changed to the older classical Greek form (l. 49) while the rest are kept intact (ll. 26, 32 and 116). Delehayе kept them as in the manuscript.

4. The editors read the manuscript incorrectly on some occasions. For example: ἀνοικοδόμησα (l. 56), given in its correct form and spelling in the manuscript, was read ἀνοικοδόμησαν by previous editors; the word χρυσοβούλλου (l. 84), given in the manuscript as χρυσοβόλου was erroneously read by Tomadakis as χρυσοβόλλου.

5. There are also cases where Tomadakis reproduced Delehayе's readings incorrectly in his apparatus criticus, e.g. ὕπεργος instead of Delehayе's proposal ὕπεργον (l. 61) for the manuscript's reading ὕπαργον. Moreover, there are cases where Tomadakis does not mention Delehayе's propositions and readings; e.g. Delehayе read ἦν as ἄν in the phrase ἐνθα καὶ ἦν εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν τῆς μονῆς (ll. 86-87) which Tomadakis did not mention in the apparatus criticus as Delehayе's reading.

6. Mistaken accentuation is noted in both editions; e.g. in line 89, ἐπισχέσθαι is accentuated mistakenly as ἐπίσχεσθαι ; δοὺς (l. 9) erroneously carries a circumflex in Delehay's edition while in Tomadakis' editions κατῆλθέν μοι (ll. 27-28) is written without the acute accent needed for the enclitic word μοι which follows.

Conventions adopted in the present edition

The division of the text into four sections, first introduced by Delehay and followed by Tomadakis, has been followed in the present study as well, so that the reader can go through and check all four editions easily.

In the apparatus criticus of the present edition the following are not noted: spelling mistakes, except those which might affect the meaning of the text, and are discussed in the commentary (e.g. εὐχριστος in l. 62 and εὐχρηστος in l. 66)¹⁰; accentuation and punctuation mistakes; incorrect readings by the previous editors, unless noteworthy ones; misprints, obvious mistakes and other mistaken readings made by the previous editors.

New punctuation is introduced in the present edition which is generally guided by the punctuation signs of the manuscript. These do not present any problems since they are correctly introduced¹¹. At this point it should be noted that the punctuation of the manuscript is much more liberal than that shown in the edition.

Tomadakis' latest edition (1983-1986) is followed; references to his first edition (1948) are made only in the commentary, and only if there is something of special note.

Alternative forms of words introduced in the text have been kept intact and have not been "corrected" or "altered" As discussed in the language study of the text, these types of words are indicative of the text's language and its period of composition. There are some words though that had to be changed in order to prevent confusion. These words are noted and discussed in the relevant commentary entries.

¹⁰ It should be noted that spelling mistakes, mainly due to *parehesis*, are abundant in the text; however, they do not cause confusion or insurmountable problems because of the text's simple nature.

¹¹ For the punctuation signs used, see Chapter 4. 2.

The apparatus criticus' indication "corr. Del" denotes that Tomadakis accepted and followed the correction Delehayé introduced, unless otherwise stated.

Chapter five

Critical edition and translation

Siglorum conspectus

I. Codex

- O** Codex *Oxoniensis Bodleianus Canonicus graecus 19*, chart.,
sec. XV-XVI

II. Cetera

add.	addidit
alt.	alterum
cf.	confer
coni.	coniecit, -erunt
corr.	correxerit, -erunt
del.	delevi, -t
edd.	editores
in marg.	in margine
inser.	inseruerunt
lin.	lineam, lineas
oblit.	obliteravit
om.	omiserunt
prop.	proposuit
scr.	scripsit
suppl.	supplevit

III. Virorum doctorum nomina breviata

Del Hippolyte Delehay, *Deux Typica Byzantins de l' époque des Paléologues*, Brussels 1921, 188-196 (Appendice. Le Testament de Jean I' Étranger).

To m Νικόλαος Τωμαδάκης, "Ἀγιολογικά καὶ Ὑμνολογικά. Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ Ἐρημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ. 10ος-11ος αἰών", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 46 (1983-1986), 1-117.

Cetera facile intelleguntur

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Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐρημίτου τοῦ τῇ ἐπωνυμίας ξένου.

5

Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς ὁ τῇ ἐπωνυμίας ξένος καὶ ἐρημίτης προσέταξα.

1. Πηγὴ ἀφθαρσίας ὑπάρχων ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἐδημιούργησεν ἄνθρωπον· ὁρῶν αὐτὸν † δοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ζωηροῦ χωρίου
 10 κατέστησεν. † Ἀπάτη οὖν καὶ συμβουλία τοῦ κακογνώμου ὄψεως τὴν ἐντολὴν ὁ προπάτωρ μὴ φυλάξας, θανάτῳ κατεδικάσθη. Καὶ λοιπὸν ὧ ἄδελφοί, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃς ζήσεται καὶ οὐκ ὄψεται θάνατον. Ὅθεν καὶ γὰρ ὁ εὐτελὴς μοναχὸς καὶ ξένος τῇ ἐπωνυμίας, ἀρρωστής κατακλιθεὶς καὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ θανάτου προσδοκῶν, ἰδοὺ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πάντα φανερώς γέγονα καὶ διατίθημι
 15 καὶ τί ἐπ' ἐμὲ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος δι' οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ ἀνεδείξατο. Ἐχει δὲ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ οὕτως. Γονέων γὰρ γέγονα πλουσίων ἀπὸ χωρίου τοῦ λεγομένου Σίβα· καὶ γεννηθεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τῶν σπλά²⁷⁹γγων τῶν μητρικῶν, ἐκ νεαρᾶς ἡλικίας ποθοῦντός μου τὸν μονήρη βίον. Καὶ λοιπόν, ἀπὸ ὅρος εἰς ὅρος καὶ ἐρημίαις πλανώμενος, κακουχούμενος καὶ κρύει πιεζόμενος, ἐποίησα χρόνους
 20 ἱκανοὺς ἐντελευτόμενος καὶ συγκαιόμενος τῷ καύσωνι τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῷ παγετῷ τοῦ χειμῶνος· καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀγρίων θηρίων καὶ ζῴων συνοικῶν καὶ

1 λόγος λε' in marg. 4 ἐπονομία O : corr. Tom 6 ἐπόννομία O : corr. Tom προέταξα conī. Del 8 super Πηγὴ ἀφθαρσίας ... scripsit εὐλόγησον δέσποτα δι' εὐχῶν O : εὐλόγησον δέσποτα Ἰ.Χ. Del post ἡμῶν inser. Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Del et Tom δὴ conī. Del 9 post αὐτὸν lacuna statuenda 10 κατέστησαν O : correxi 11 κατεδικάσθη scripsi : κατεδικάστην O : κατεδικάσθη edd. 12 οὐχ ὥψεται O : corr. Del 14 τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ prop. Tom γέγονα prop. Tom 15 ἐνεδείξατο prop. Tom Ἐχει scripsi : ἔχων O 19 κακοχούμενος O : corr. Del 20-21 τὸν παγετὸν O : corr. Del

συνδιάγων, ἦλθον ἄχρι τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Λιθίνων, τοῦ λεγομένου τοῦ 'Ράξου.
 Κάκεισε προσμείνας ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὅλον διαδραμὼν καὶ εὐρὼν
 πολὺ δάσος καὶ ἀδιάβατον, εὐρὼν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ σπήλαιον, ὃ καὶ
 25 ἔνδοθεν ὑπείσελθὼν, εὗρον δύο μνημεῖα, ἓν μὲν κατ' ἄρκτον, ἕτερον δὲ κατὰ
 μεσημβρίαν· ἃ καὶ θεασάμενος καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν λογισάμενος τί ἄρα ταῦτα
 εἰσὶν, ἐξῆλθον τοῦ σπηλαίου· καὶ ἐν τῷ διαπορεύεσθαί με μικρόν τι κατηλθέν
 μοι ἐκ τρίτου φωνὴ καλοῦσά με ἐξ ὀνόματος καὶ διακελευομένη μοι τοιαῦτα
 "'Ιωάννη, 'Ιωάννη, 'Ιωάννη, ἃ εἶδας ἐνταῦθα δύο μνημεῖα εἰσὶν Εὐτυχίου καὶ
 30 Εὐτυχιανοῦ, καὶ μέλλεις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ ἀνεγείραι θεῖον καὶ ἅγιον ναὸν εἰς
 ὄνοι²⁷⁹μα τούτων". Κἀγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ἔμεινα τῷ τόπῳ· καὶ ἀγῶνα
 ἀναδυσάμενος, καὶ θέμενος ὀλοψύχως τὸν ἑμαυτὸν μου, ἀπηρξάμην
 ἐξεδαφίζειν τὰ τε ξύλα καὶ τὰ φρύγανα καὶ καθαρίζειν τὰ ῥηθέντα μνημεῖα·
 καὶ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ταῦτα ποιήσας ἀνέγειρα θεῖον καὶ ἅγιον ναὸν τῶν
 35 ἁγίων Εὐτυχίου καὶ Εὐτυχιανοῦ.

2. Καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας καὶ καταλείψας ἐκεῖσε ἓνα ἀδελφόν, ἀναχώρησα· καὶ
 πάλιν τὸ ὄρος εἰς ὄρος ἀναδραμὼν ἀπῆλθον ἄχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ὄρους
 Μυριοκεφάλου, ἐπάνω τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ λεγομένου Τούρμα τοῦ Καλαμῶνος καὶ
 40 εὗρον [ἦν] ἄνω τοῦ ὄρους κτίσμα ἐλληνικὸν παμμέγεθες τοῦ λεγομένου
 Μυριοκεφάλου· καὶ διὰ τὴν δριμύτηταν τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰσῆλθον ὧδε. Καὶ ἅμα
 τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν με ἐποίησα ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ τυφλός· καὶ εὐχομένου μου πρὸς

22 συναδιάγων O : corr. Del 'Ράξου scr. Tom 24 πολὺ Del : πολλὸν O : πολλὸν Tom
 διάβατος O : corr. Del ὄν και O : corr. Del 25 εὐρὼν O : corr. Del 26 ἄρα ODelTom
 27 κατηλθον O : corr. Del 29 ἐνταῦτα O : corr. Del 32 καθέμενος O : corr. Tom 33
 ἐκδαφίζειν O : corr. Del 34 ἀνέγειρα O : ἀνήγειρα DelTom 34-35 τὸν ἅγιον Εὐτύχιον
 καὶ Εὐτυχιανὸν O : corr. Tom 37 ἀναχώρησα O : ἀνεχώρησα DelTom 40 post εὗρον
 add. ὃ Del ἦν delevi παμμεγεθῆ O : corr. Del 41 δριμύτηταν O : δριμύτητα Tom

Κύριον, κατὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν ἦλθέ μοι φωνὴ τοιαύτη "ὦ Ἰωάννη, ἔξελθε
 τῶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἴδε κατὰ ἀνατολάς". Εγὼ δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ τινος χειραγωγούμενος,
 45 ἔξηλθον τοῦ κτίσματος καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολάς στάς, ¹²⁸⁰ εἶδον φῶς μέγα καὶ
 διακελευούσης φωνῆς τοιαύτης, ὅτι " ἐνταῦθα ἀνεγείραι μέλλεις οἶκον τῆς
 πανυμνήτου Θεοτόκου τῆς Ἀντιφωνητρίας". Καὶ ἅμα τοῦτο γεγονὸς διήλθον
 τοὺς φιλοχρίστους· καὶ ἐνδεῆς τούτων γεγονῶς τὸν μὲν τόπον ἐξωνησάμην
 ἀπὸ τοὺς ἰδίους κληρονόμους· καὶ ἀγῶνας ἑαυτὸν θέμενος, πρῶτον ἔγγραφον
 50 πρὸς με ἐξέθεντο οἱ δηλωθέντες κληρονόμοι τοῦ δηλωθέντος τόπου τοῦ
 λεγομένου Μυριοκεφάλου, διαιρῶν τὸν τόπον ῥητῶς καὶ περικλείων. Εἶτα
 ἐντελευόμενος ἐν τοῖς φιλοχρίστοις ἐδομησάμην τὴν τοιαύτην μονὴν τῆς
 θεομήτορος καὶ πανάγνου Θεοτόκου τῆς Ἀντιφωνητρίας καὶ προσεκτεσάμην
 ἃ Αὐτὴ ἡγδόκησεν καὶ οἰκονόμησεν· καὶ οὕτως ἐκούρευσα ἓνα, τὸν μοναχὸν
 55 Λουκᾶ. Καὶ ἐξελθόντος μου τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς, εὑρον τόπον ἕτερον τοῦ
 λεγομένου τοῦ Μέλικοις· καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ χαμοβουνίου ἀνελθὼν ἀνοικοδόμησα
 τὸν ἅγιον Γεώργιον τὸν Δούβρικαν, ἔνθα οὔτε ξύλον εὐρίσκεται οὔτε χόρτον
 χλωρόν, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ξηρὸς ἦν ὁ τόπος· καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐπεννοηθεὶς ἐποίησα
 δεξαμενὴν εἰς ^{1280v} τὸ ὑποδέχεσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ. Ἐκ Θεοῦ δὲ ὁδηγηθέντες οἱ
 60 κληρονόμοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου ἐδωρήσαντό μοι καὶ ἕτερον τόπον· καὶ ἐποίησα
 ἀμπέλιν καὶ περιβόλιν. Δέδωκάν μοι δὲ καὶ γῆν ὑπεργον ζευγαρίων τεσσάρων·
 καὶ οὕτως προσελθὼν ἀνὴρ εὐχριστος, ἐκούρευσα αὐτόν, ὅστις καὶ
 ὀνομασθεὶς παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς συνεργείας τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὁ μοναχὸς
 Νικόδημος· καὶ τοῦτον ἱερέαν ἀπεκατέστησα· καὶ καταλείψας αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ

44 χειραγωγούμενος O : corr. Del 46 ἐνταῦθα O : corr. Del; cf. supra ad lin. 29 49
 ἑαυτῷ Tom ἔγγραφον O : corr. Del 50 κληρονόμους O : corr. Del 51 post
 Μυριοκεφάλου expectaverim καὶ 54 ἐν O : corr. Del 55 Λουκᾶ O : Λουκᾶν DelTom
 61 ὑπεργον Del : ὑπαργον O 62 εὐχρηστος edd. 63 συνεργίας Tom 64 ἱερέα Tom

65 ῥηθὲν εὐκτήριον, εὐθὺς ἀνηχώρησα καὶ κατέλαβα ἕτερον τόπον τὸν
 λεγόμενον Ἄριον, ὅστις ἦν τόπος καλὸς καὶ εὐχρηστος καὶ πλησίον τοῦ
 χωρίου τῆς Πηγῆς. Αἰτήσας τοὺς οἰκήτορας τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωρίου, ἀνήγειραν
 ναὸν τὸν λεγόμενον ἅγιον Γεώργιον τὸν Ὁψαροπιάστην· καὶ ἰδόντες τὴν
 ταπείνωσίν μου, ᾧ οὐκ ἔξεστιν καυχᾶσθαι μοι, οἱ δηλωθέντες χωρῖται
 70 δέδωκάν μοι χωραφίτζιν ζευγαρίων δύο καὶ δενδρούτζικα ὀλιγοστά, ἅτινα καὶ
 ἀφιέρωσα εἰς τὸ ῥηθὲν κελλίον· καὶ ἀποκείρας τὸν μοναχὸν Εὐτύχιον ἱερέαν,
 εὐθὺς ἀνηχώρησα.

3. Κάκεισε δὲ πάλιν ἀνηπέστρεψα εἰς τὴν ¹²⁸¹ μονὴν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου
 75 τοῦ Μυριοκεφάλου· καὶ εὐρὼν τοὺς μοναχοὺς οὓς κατέλιπον καὶ μὴ ἔχοντας
 πόθεν διοικεῖσθαι, ἐξῆλθον πρὸς τοὺς φιλοχρίστους καὶ ἐνδεῆς γεγωνὸς κατὰ
 τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολήν, συνεστησάμην ζευγάρια ἕξ καὶ ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ
 χωρίον τὴν Μουσέλαν, εὐρὼν τόπον καλόν· καὶ ἐξωνησάμην ἀπὸ τοὺς ἰδίους
 κληρονόμους, τοὺς Μεσοσταβλίτας, μερίδας δύο, ἃς εἶχον εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην
 80 περιοχὴν· καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ ἐκεῖ προσμένοντες ἐδωρήσαντό μοι ἑτέρας μερίδας
 δύο. Καὶ ἀνήγειρα ἐκεῖσε εἰς μετόχιον τὸν ἅγιον Πατάπιον· καὶ οὕτως
 ἐποίησα περιβόλιν πολυτελὲς· δένδρα ἐν αὐτῷ κατεφύτευσα. Εἶτα
 κατεφύτευσα καὶ ἀμπέλιν μοδίων δώδεκα· ἔκτισα καὶ οἰκήματα κεραμόστεγα
 εἰς τὸ ἔχειν τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν οἱ μοναχοὶ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν πορίζεσθαι τὴν ἡμέτερον
 85 τροφήν αὐτῶν. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν φιλοχρίστων ἐσώρευσα καὶ μελίσσια ἑκατὸν
 πεντήκοντα, ἅτινα καὶ ἀπέθεντο εἰς τὸ Κυριανόν, ἔνθα καὶ ἦν εἰς τὴν

65 ἀνηχώρησα O : ἀνεχώρησα DelTom 67 ἀνήγειραν O : ἀνήγειρα DelTom 69 δηλωθὲν
 O : corr. Del 71 ἱερέα Tom 72 ἀνηχώρησα O : ἀνεχώρησα DelTom; cf. supra ad lin.
 65 74 ἀνυπέστρεψα edd. 75 κατέλοιπεν O : corr. Del 82 περιβόλιν πολυτελὲς scripsi :
 περιβόλιν πολυτελή O : περιβόλιν καὶ πολυειδῆ prop. Tom 84 ἡμέτερον O : corr. Del
 85 τῶν φιλοχρίστων scripsi : τὸ φιλοχρίστον O : τὸ φιλόχριστον πλήθος conl. DelTom
 86 Κυριανόν scripsi : κήριανῶ O : κηριανόν Del

περιοχὴν τῆς μονῆς· καὶ²⁸¹ τεφύτευσα καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ παντοῖα δένδρα καὶ
 ἐφύτευσα καὶ κλήματα χειμέρια. Καὶ οὕτως ἐκατεφύτευσα ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν
 μονὴν ἀμπέλι καὶ δένδρα παντοῖα καὶ εἰς παράδεισον ἀπεκατέστησα·
 90 κατέλιπα μοναχοὺς δώδεκα. Καὶ ἀπελθὼν εἰς τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς
 καὶ δεηθεὶς αὐτοῖς χρυσοβούλλου, ἐπορισάμην τοῦ λαμβάνειν ἐτησίως ἡ μονὴ
 λόγου ψυχικῆς αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας ἀπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου νομίσματα λίτρων μίαν,
 ῥάσα δώδεκα, μανδία δώδεκα, καὶ βλαττὶν ἐνδυτὴν καὶ τοῦ εἶναι ταύτην
 ἀνέπαφον ἀπὸ παντὸς καὶ παντοίου ἀρχοντικοῦ καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ
 95 προσώπου καὶ μηδ' ὅλως ἔχειν τὸν κατὰ χώραν μητροπολίτην ἢ τινα τῶν
 ἐπισκόπων ἐπισχέσθαι εἰς τὰ δίκαια τῆς μονῆς ἢ εἰς ἃ προσεκτεσάμην,
 βιβλία, ἀγίας εἰκόνας <αῖς> κατεκόσμησα κελλία ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ ἐπιζητεῖν ἐπ'
 αὐτῶν ἢ σύνηθές τι ἢ κανίσχιον ἢ τὸ καθόλου τι, ἀρχὴν τινα ἢ ἐξουσίαν·
 ἀλλὰ τὸ καθόλου εἶναι πάντα αὐτοδέσποτα καὶ κύρια ὑπὸ χειρὸς εἶναι τῆς
 100 δηλω²⁸² θείσης μονῆς, μόνην τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ
 οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου καὶ οὕτως τοὺς καθεξῆς. Καὶ
 κατελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Πόλεως μεθ' ὧν προσεκτεσάμην ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοχρίστων
 ἐκεῖσε, ἱερὰ σκεύη, βιβλία, ἀγίας εἰκόνας, κατεκόσμησα τὴν μονὴν ἣν ὀρᾶτε·
 καὶ οὕτως τὰ πάντα οἱ φιλόχριστοι, οἳ τε ἄρχοντες, ἐπίσκοποι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ
 105 ἀφιέρωσαν εἰς τὴν μονήν, πρόβατα χίλια τριακόσια, αἰγίδια τριακόσια,
 φορβάδια δέκα ἕξ, ὀνοθηλείας πέντε καὶ βορδῶνια σαμαρικὰ τέσσαρα εἰς τὸ
 ἀποκομίζειν τὴν τροφὴν τῶν γερόντων ἀπὸ τῆς Μουσέλας, τοῦ ἐτέρου
 μετοχίου τοῦ Μέλικοι, καὶ τοῦ Ἀρίου, τὰ δισκία τὰ πάντα, τά τε σίδηρα καὶ

88 κλῆμα O : corr. Del 89 ἀμπέλι scripsi : ἀμπέλη O : ἀμπέλιν DelTom 91
 χρυσοβόλου O : corr. Del 92 λόγῳ conl. Tom σωτηρία O : corr. Del 93 βλαττὶν Del :
 βλάτην O : βλαττὴν Tom 95 ἔχων O : corr. Tom 97 αῖς suppl. Tom 98 σύνηθές τι Del
 : σύνηθές τινα OTom κανίσκιον Del 102 ἀπὸ τῶν prop. Tom 103 ἱερῶν σκευῶν,
 βιβλίων, ἀγίων εἰκόνων conl. Del 105 ἀφιέρωσα O : corr. Del 106 ὀνοθηλείας scripsi :
 ὀνοθυλείας O : ὀνοθήλειες Del : ὀνοθήλειαι Tom σαγμαρικά Del 108 δέσκια O : corr.
 Tom

τὰ χαλκώματα, τὰ μυριάρια, τὰ κουκουμίκια, τὰς ἀπαλαρέας καὶ τὰ λοιπά· ἃ
 110 καὶ ἐγράφησαν, ἐπεβράβευσαν· ταῦτα πάντα ἀπὸ τῶν φιλοχρίστων μοι
 ἐπεριῆλθον, † ὥς τε τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν † καὶ ἡ βοήθεια τῆς
 παναχράντου μητροῦς· ἃ οὐκ ἔχρηζον οἱ φιλόχριστοι, ἐπροι^{282ν}σήφερον ταῦτα
 καὶ ἀπέθεντο, καὶ εἰς ἔτη ζέοντες πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν δύστηνον
 καὶ ὀλέθριον κατεκενοῦντο πάντες.

115

4. Τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολὴν καὶ ἐμαυτὸν εἰδήσας καὶ καταβλεψάμενος διὰ τὸ
 μὴδ' ὅλως ἔχειν με ἀνάπαυσιν μίαν ὥραν ἄνεσιν, ἐξῆλθον τῆς μονῆς καὶ
 οὕτως κατέλαβον τὸν τόπον τοῦ λεγομένου Κουφοῦ· καὶ μέσον τοῦ χωρίου
 ἀνέγειρα ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, κατεφύτευσα ἀμπέλιν καὶ
 120 προσεκτεσάμην καὶ χωραφίτζια μοδίων τεσσαράκοντα· καὶ ἀποκείρας τὸν
 μοναχὸν Κύριλλον καὶ ἀποκαταστήσας τὸ κελλίον ἀνηχώρησα. Καὶ
 ἀπελθόντος μου εἰς ἔρημον τόπον ὀπίσω ἐν γιᾶλῳ, καὶ προσέμεινα ἡμέρας
 ἱκανὰς καὶ οἴκησα εὐκτήριον τὸν ἅγιον Παῦλον καὶ ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν
 Ἀζωγυρέαν τὸν ἅγιον Γεώργιον· καὶ ἐποίησα ἐκεῖ μελισσουργεῖον εἰς τὸ εἶναι
 125 εἰς τὴν εἰρημένην μονήν· καὶ πάλιν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολλῶν μου ἁμαρτιῶν
 οὐκ ἔασάν με ἀναπαυθῆναι οἱ φιλόχριστοι. Καὶ λοιπὸν εἰς ἕτερον τόπον
 ἔρημον |²⁸³ κατώκησα εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Κισάμου ἔξω εἰς τὴν Ἀκτὴν ἐν οἷς καὶ
 προσμένειν ἡρετισάμην διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σύγχυσιν. Καὶ οὕτως πάντα τὰ
 κατ' ἐμὲ ἐπισυνάψας καὶ ἐγγράφως ποιήσας ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν
 130 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦτο διορίζομαι καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσι· ὥς ἂν πάσας

109 μυριάρια Del : μυαλιάρια O : μυλάρια Tom 111 περιῆλθον conl. Tom ὅστε O :
 distinxi et correxi Ἰησοῦ conl. Tom post Χριστὸν lacunam statui 113 εἰσέτι
 DelTom θεόντες conl. Tom 116 καταβλεψάμενος O : corr. edd. 117 ἔχει O : corr. Del
 119 ἀνέγειραν O : corr. Tom κατεφύτευσας O : corr. Del 121 ἀνηχώρησα O :
 ἀνεχώρησα DelTom; cf. supra ad lin. 65, 72 122 ἀπελτος O : corr. edd. ὀπίσω ἐν
 γιᾶλῳ O : ὀπίσω αἰγιαλῳ Del : Ὀπίσω Αἰγιαλόν Tom 124 Ναζωγηραῖαν O : corr. Tom
 128 αὐτως O : corr. Del 129 ἐγραψας O : corr. Del

ἐκκλησίας ἡγεῖρα ὡς εἴρηται καὶ ἃ προσεκτεσάμην κινητά, ἀκίνητα καὶ
αὐτοκίνητα, ἵνα εἰσὶν πάντα εἰς τὴν μονὴν τοῦ Μυριοκεφάλου ἕως συστολῆς
τοῦ παρόντος [μου] κόσμου· εἰ δέ τις τῶν ἐπιγείων ἀνθρώπων, εἴτε βασιλεῖς ἢ
135 πατριάρχης ἢ μητροπολίτης ἢ ἐπίσκοπος ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν ἀπάντων
κατατολμήσει ἀποσπάσαι τῶν εὐκτηρίων ὧν ἔκτισα ἢ ἀπὸ τινος τῶν ὑπ’
αὐτῶν ἀκινήτων, ἃ καὶ ἀφιέρωσα εἰς τὴν δηλωθεῖσαν μονήν, ὁ πρὸς ταύτην
κατατολμῶν πρῶτον μὲν τῶν τῆς ἀκινήσιας δεσμῶν ἄλυτος ἔστω καὶ ἡ μερὶς
αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ κλῆρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦ Ἰούδα ἀγχόνη καθυποβαλλόμενος καὶ
ἀναθέματι καὶ τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ θεοφόρων Πατέρων ^{1283ν} καὶ
140 τῷ αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ ἀποκεκλήρωται· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα φυλάττων, ἃ ἐποίησα καὶ
προσεκτεσάμην, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἡ μεσίτρια τοῦ κόσμου
συγχωρήσει αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ ὀφλήματα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ
μέλλοντι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

131 post ἀκίνητα scr. εἰς τὴν O sed deinde oblit. 133 μου del. Tom βασιλεὺς Tom
135 κατατολμήσει ἀποσπάσαι Tom : κατὰτολμήσαι ἀπὸ πᾶσαι (sic) O : κατατολμήσαι
ἀποσπάσαι Del οἰκτηρίων O : corr. Del 135-136 ὑπ’ αὐτὴν conl. Tom 137 ἄλυτος
ἔστω Tom : ἄλητε (sic) ἔστω O : ἄληται· ἔστω Del 138-139 καὶ ἀναθέματι Tom : καὶ
ἀναθέματα bis scriptum O 139 καὶ pr. del. Tom τριακοσίων Tom : τετρακοσίων male
O 140 ἀεὶ edd. 141 ἐπουρανίοις O : corr. Del 142 ὀφιλήματα O : corr. Del ἐν τῷ νῦν
αἰῶνι καὶ om. edd. 143 μένοντι edd.

Translation ¹

|278v

The Life and Conduct of our holy father Ioannes the hermit, known as *xenos* .

I, Ioannes the monk and the hermit, known as *xenos*, commanded.

1. Being a source of incorruption our God created man at first in incorruption; having seen him, He gave <him the possibility> and He settled <him> at the life-giving place. So, due to the deceit and the advice of the evil-minded serpent, the forefather having not observed the command, was condemned to death. And then, o brethren, there is no man who will live and will not face death. Thus, I too, the lowly monk and known as *xenos*, having been laid down on a bed by sickness and expecting the finality of death, look, how I have arranged and manifestly set out everything regarding me, and what holy God through his *oikonomia* (dispensation) revealed to me; and this is how matters regarding me stand. I was born of rich parents <coming> from a village called Siva; and having been conceived by them, I came out of the maternal womb, |279 longing for the solitary life from a young age. Thereafter, from

¹ The paratactic sentence structure and *asyndeton* are the two main features of the *Life* that affected the way of translating the text; the abundance of participles in the original text led to the translation of a number of them into forms of the indicative; punctuation of the edition has not always been followed in the translation; words that have been transliterated instead of translated, should be looked up in the commentary of the present study for further discussion; necessary explanations (and/or alternative words) have been inserted in parentheses while additions (crucial for the comprehension of the text) whether appearing in the critical edition or not, are included in angular brackets.

mountain to mountain and in desert places wandering, being maltreated and harassed by the icy cold, I spent considerable time following the command (of God) and being burnt up by the burning heat of the sun and the frost of the winter. And having dwelt and lived together with the wild beasts and animals, I came as far as the mountain of Lithines, which is called Raxos. And in that place, having remained a considerable number of days and having traversed all over the mountain and having found a dense and trackless forest, I found also at that same place a cave, in which when I entered it, I found two monuments, one on the north side and the other on the south. Having gazed at them, I came out of the cave thinking to myself, what are these? And as I walked for a little, a voice came down to me from above calling me by name and commanding me in these words: "Ioannes, Ioannes, Ioannes, these that you saw here, are two monuments of Eutychios and Eutychianos, and in this place you are destined to raise a sacred and holy *naos* (temple) in their |^{279v} name". And having heard these, I stayed at the place; and having taken a great deal of trouble and given myself with my whole soul, I began to remove from the ground the trees and undergrowth and to clean the aforesaid monuments; and having done these things after many days, I raised a sacred and holy *naos* of Saints Eutychios and Eutychianos.

2. And having done this and having left behind there one brother, I left; and once more, crossing over from mountain to mountain I went away as far as the peak of the mountain Myriokephalon above the village called Tourma of Kalamon; and I found an immense pagan building [that was] up on the mountain, called Myriokephalon. And due to the harshness of winter I went in there

and at the moment I entered it I spent seven days blind; and as I was praying to the Lord, on the seventh day a voice came to me such as this: " O Ioannes, come out from in there and look towards the East". And as if I was guided by someone, I came out of the building and as I stood facing towards the East |²⁸⁰ I saw a great light and such a voice was giving orders, that "here in this place you are destined to raise an *oikos* (shrine) of her who is praised by all, the Theotokos, the Antiphonetria". And as soon as this happened, I went among the *philochristoi* (devout people) and being in need of their help (begging help), I bought out the area from the heirs themselves; and having put myself into a great deal of trouble, the just previously mentioned heirs of the aforementioned place, the so-called Myriocephalon, first presented to me a document; I defined precisely the area and enclosed it all round. Then, after explaining the divine command to the *philochristoi*, I raised this monastery of the Mother of God and perfect in purity Theotokos, the Antiphonetria, and I gained the following (things) which She consented (to accept) and regulated; and thus, I tonsured a man, monk Loukas. And coming out of that monastery, I found another place that was called Melix; and having gone above, on top of the low mountain, I built up <the church of> Saint Georgios the Douvrikas; there, neither a tree nor green grass can be found but the place was always dry; and after having thought out a certain way, I constructed a cistern |^{280v} for water to be collected. Having been guided by God, the heirs of that same place gave me as a gift another place as well; and I made a vineyard and a garden. They also gave me land of four *zeugaria* fit for cultivation, and thus, when a pious man came to me, I tonsured him; and he was named by me and with the help of the Holy Spirit, the monk Nikodemos.

And I set him up as a priest; and having left him behind at the said *euktirion* (oratory), I left straightaway and I arrived at another place, the so-called Arion, which was a nice place of good quality and close to the village of Pege. Having asked the inhabitants of this village, they raised a *naos*, called Saint Georgios the Opsaropiastes, and because they realised my humility, about which I am not allowed to boast, the aforementioned villagers gave me arable land of two *zeugaria* and a few small trees, which I consecrated to the aforesaid *kellion* (cell); and having tonsured the monk Eutybios priest, I left straightaway.

3. And at that place once again I went back up to the |²⁸¹ monastery of the supremely holy Mother of God of Myriocephalon; and finding the monks that I had left behind, not even having the wherewithal to manage, I came forth to the *philochristoi* and being in need of them (begging their help) according to the command of Christ, I put six *zeugaria* together and left for the village of Mousela; having found a good place, I bought out from the heirs themselves, the Mesostavlites, two plots of ground, which they had in this same area. And the people who were staying there, after seeing this, presented to me two more plots of ground. And at that place I raised the Saint Patapios as a *metochion*, and thus I made a rich garden; I planted trees in it. And then, I planted a vineyard of twelve *modioi*; I also constructed buildings with roof-tiles for the monks to have their accommodation, and from them to earn their daily nourishment. From the *philochristoi* I collected one hundred and fifty beehives, which were put away in Kyrianon, a place which also belonged to the area of the monastery; and |^{281v} I planted there too trees of all kinds, and I planted also wintry plants. And in

this way I planted a vineyard and trees of all sorts up in the monastery and I restored it as an orchard; I left behind twelve monks. And having gone off to our orthodox emperors and having requested from them a chrysobull, I obtained <one authorising> the monastery to receive annually from the state for the sake of the salvation of their souls gold coins to the value of one *litra*, twelve gowns, twelve mantles, and a purple cloth altar cover, and <authorising> the monastery to be untouched by all and by any kind of civilian and ecclesiastical official, and <forbidding> by any means the local metropolitan or any of the bishops to be able to exercise power over the rights of the monastery or over the things that I had gained, books, holy icons <with which> I equipped the cells as has been said; and in no way for any sovereignty or authority <to be able> to claim from these either any customary tax or a *kaniskion* or anything at all; but for all of them, to be totally self-governed and independent under the hands of the stated |282 monastery, and to make only a (liturgical) reference to the all holy and ecumenical Patriarch Alexios and similarly his successors. And coming back from Constantinople with the things I had gained from the *philochristoi* there, sacred vessels, books, holy icons, I equipped the monastery that you see; and in this way everything the *philochristoi*, the archons, the bishops and the rest, consecrated to the monastery, one thousand three hundred sheep, three hundred goats, sixteen horses, five she-asses and four pack-saddled young mules to convey the nourishment of the monks from Mousela, the other metochion, Melix, and Arion; all the trays, the vessels made of iron and the vessels made of copper, the high copper vessels, the bronze jars, the table vessels, and the rest; these that were also written down, were registered (and approved). All these devolved

to me from the *philochristoi*, as if to our Lord Jesus Christ and with the help of the wholly undefiled Mother. These that the *philochristoi* did not need, |^{282v} they offered and dedicated, and for years as all of them were burning <because of the religious zeal and enthusiasm> more and more, they were all giving <everything> to me the unhappy and mortal.

4. Knowing the command of Christ and my own state, and reproaching <myself>, for it was impossible for me to have a break for an hour's quiet at all, I left the monastery and thus, I reached the place called Koufos, and in the middle of the village I raised a *naos* of the supremely holy Mother of God; I planted a vineyard and I also gained plots of ground of forty *modioi*; and having tonsured monk Kyrillos and fully organised the *kellion*, I left. And having gone away to a desert place on the rear shore, I stayed there a considerable number of days and I founded an *euktirion*, the Saint Pavlos, and up above in Azogyreas, the Saint Georgios; and there I made an apiary to belong to the said monastery. And once again, due to the great number of my sins the *philochristoi* did not leave me to rest. And then I settled in another desert place |²⁸³ in the district of Kissamos far away at Akti, where I preferred to remain because of the disturbance <caused by> people. And thus, having gathered all the matters that were related to me and having them written down, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, this I pronounce clearly and command to all; that all the churches I raised, as has been said, and all these things that I acquired, movable property, immovable property and self-moved property, all are to belong to the monastery of Myriocephalon until the end of the present world. And if anyone of the people on earth, either

emperors or patriarch or metropolitan or bishop or archon or anyone else at all, dares to detach <anything> from the *euktiria* that I raised or from any of the immovable property that belongs to them, which I consecrated to the said monastery, the person who will dare anything against it, at first let him be seized by the bonds of immobility, and let his share and lot be with Judas, to be subject to hanging and to the anathema of the three hundred and eighteen God-bearing Fathers and |283^v let him be destined for the eternal hell fire. But if anyone guards all these which I created and acquired, the holy and heavenly God and the mediator of the world will forgive them all their debts in this age and the future age, now and forever, and to the ages of the ages, amen.

Chapter six

Commentary

Commentary ¹

•1. (in marg.) **λόγος λε´**: the number of the text in the manuscript (35th item); see Chapter 4. 2, p. 141, and note 4.

•3. **Βίος καὶ πολιτεία** : For the title used in connection with the literary genre of the text, see Chapter 3. 2, pp. 98-102, esp. 101.

•3. **τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν** : Usually ὅσιος is translated as "sainted"; but here since it is contained in a title, the word "holy" is preferred.

•3. **τοῦ ἐρημίτου** : as also in l. 6. For the use of *xenos* and *eremites* as epithets, see Introduction, p. 19.

•4. **ἐπωνυμία**: The word is given in the manuscript as ἐπονομία, and in l. 6 as ἐπόννομία (sic) while in l. 13 the correct form ἐπονυμία (spelt as in the manuscript) appears; cf. Chapter 3. 1, vocabulary section, p. 83.

•4. **ξένου** : The adjective *xenos* meaning "stranger", "foreigner" is often used for monks and holy persons in hagiographical texts. They were called *xenoi* as they refused to reveal their origins, "a device used by their hagiographers to emphasise their quality of separateness, their distance from worldly ties based on blood and thus their ability to arbitrate justly in both spiritual and social terms"; see Rosemary Morris, *Monks and laymen in Byzantium, 843-1118*, Cambridge 1995, 59 and 81.

It is noteworthy, though, that in his *Life* Xenos refers to his birthplace (l. 16) and his "life journey", in the context in which he aims to safeguard the monasteries he founded and their status; thus he has to be specific regarding his identity and his own deeds. He was known to the people as *xenos*, but as soon as he started his monastic activities which were far more "practical" than spiritual, he had to refer to his origin and his lifetime's achievements.

The word *xenos* also appears on lines 6, 13.

¹ The numbers denote the line numbers in the text.

•6. **προσέταξα** : Delehayé proposed **προέταξα** for **προσέταξα** but this change seems unnecessary.

•8. (super Πηγὴ ἀφθαρσίας ...) **εὐλόγησον δέσποτα δι' εὐχῶν** : this phrase does not form part of the main text. Such phrases of benediction exist at the beginning of most texts included in the manuscript *Canonicus graecus 19* (see Chapter 4. 1, p. 115). In his apparatus criticus Delehayé mentioned the existence of **εὐλόγησον δέσποτα** in the manuscript while Tomadakis makes no comment on it. Regarding <δι' εὐχ(ῶν)> both editors got confused due to the missing letter δ of <δι' > which the rubricator forgot to execute and the place was left blank (see Chapter 4. 1, p. 114, and Chapter 4. 2, p. 142). Thus, Delehayé states in his apparatus criticus '*I. X. supra lin. lectio dubia*, and also inserts 'Ιησοῦς Χριστὸς after ἡμῶν in the text. Tomadakis repeats Delehayé's insertion but makes no mention of this phrase (**εὐλόγησον δέσποτα δι' εὐχῶν**) in the apparatus criticus. It is obvious that both previous editors did not pay proper attention to the palaeographical aspect of the text at this point.

•8-12. **Πηγὴ ἀφθαρσίας – οὐκ ὄψεται θάνατον** : References to *Wisd. Sol.* (2.23, for ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἐδημιούργησεν ἄνθρωπον in ll. 8-9) and *Genesis* (3.1-21, for 'Απάτη οὖν καὶ συμβουλία τοῦ κακογνώμου ὄψεως τὴν ἐντολὴν ὁ προπάτωρ μὴ φυλάξας, θανάτῳ κατεδικάστη in ll. 9-11) are detected in this paragraph. References to God as a source of incorruption are very common in the Fathers' writings.

•8. **δὲ** : Delehayé proposed **δὴ** for **δὲ** but such change does not seem necessary.

•9-10. **ὁρῶν αὐτὸν † δοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ζωηροῦ χωρίου κατέστησεν.†** (post αὐτὸν lacuna statuenda): translated as "having seen him (i.e. man), He gave <him the possibility> and He (i.e. God) settled <him> at the life-giving place; this is a problematic phrase where it seems that something is missing (a whole line could be missing, especially if that line contained the word αὐτόν plus a verb). This rather strange, incomplete phrase might imply the conditions under which the text was recorded. It seems that the person who wrote the text in its first stage (either Xenos before dying or a disciple who wrote it at

dictation and then reworked it) wanted to start with something general from the Bible regarding the finality of death which was the actual cause of the text's composition. This was a usual start for a testament (see below). His knowledge, though, of biblical references was not adequate or there was no time for him to check such a reference. Maybe time was really tight, especially if Xenos had to sign the text which was to function as his testament before dying (cf. the similar case of Lazaros of Mount Galesios); see Chapter 3. 2, esp. pp. 90-91 (on Lazaros' case) and 93.

•10. **κατέστησεν** : The manuscript's reading (**κατέστησαν**) makes the already problematic passage even more problematic. The corrected **κατέστησεν** makes it more understandable while "**κατέστη** " would have been the correct classical Greek form of the verb (on this grammatical type and its formation, see Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, p. 79).

•10-12. **Ἀπάτη οὖν καὶ συμβουλία – οὐκ ὄψεται θάνατον** : reference to the original sin and the consequent finality of death is usually made at the beginning of testaments. An interesting parallel to this introductory phrase of Xenos' *Life* is the phrase with which the testament of the Cretan icon painter Angelos Akotantos starts. The testament is dated to the year 1436 and the language in which it is written presents similarities with the language of Xenos' *Life* (διὰ τὴν παράβασιν τοῦ προπάτορος Ἀδὰμ πάντες παρεδώθημεν τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ τῇ φθορᾷ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃς ζήσεται καὶ οὐχ ὄψεται θάνατον); cf. M. Manousakas, " Ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ Ἀγγέλου Ἀκοτάντου (1436), ἀγνώστου Κρητικοῦ ζωγράφου", *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 2 (1960-1961), 139-150.

•11. **κατεδικάστη** : 3rd person singular with ὁ προπάτωρ as its subject. Both previous editors corrected it to **κατεδικάσθη**, but in the present edition the form given in the manuscript has been kept (**κατεδικάστην**) with the omission of the final **ν**. This final **ν** is indicative of the 1st person singular as well as the 3rd person singular of the spoken Greek of the Byzantine period (see Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, p. 79). The omission of the final **ν** has been adopted to avoid confusion with the 1st person singular.

•11. **Καὶ λοιπὸν ὧ ἄδελφοί :** a characteristic example of the orality reflected in the text. Xenos addresses his disciples. For more examples that reflect orality in the text and support the composition of the original text from dictation, see Chapter 3. 2, pp. 91 and 93.

•12. **οὐκ ὄψεται :** given in the manuscript as οὐχ ὄψεται; corrected by both previous editors.

•13-14. **ἀρρωστίᾳ κατακλιθεὶς καὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ θανάτου προσδοκῶν :** the illness of Xenos and his approaching death are the main cause for writing his final will.

•14. **τὸ κατ' ἐμέ :** Tomadakis in his second edition proposed τὰ κατ' ἐμέ; this correction, though, does not seem necessary.

•14. **γέγονα :** Tomadakis in his second edition proposed the verb γέγωνα meaning "tell out", "proclaim", "announce", "shout", which seems suitable for the context instead of γέγονα (verb γίγνομαι). However, γέγωνα is a verb mainly used in early authors (Liddell & Scott, s.v.). Additionally, the vocabulary used in this text does not include complicated and sophisticated words like this; rather it derives from the spoken everyday language, and uses some special words found in monastic foundation documents (see Chapter 3.1, vocabulary section).

•15. **ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος δι' οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ ἀνεδείξατο :** *oikonomia* (the dispensation of God) is that component of doctrine dealing with the divine plan of salvation or Incarnation history (Eph. 1. 9-10). The theological concept of *oikonomia* is based on the idea of relationship between righteous God and sinful man that required God's dispensations of grace and mercy culminating in the "economic" sacrifice of the Son. God's *oikonomia* operated through sacraments and revelations; cf. Aristeides Papadakis, "oikonomia", *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 3, Oxford 1991, 1516-1517. Xenos refers to all his deeds and activities as being planned and guided by God.

•15. **ἀνεδείξατο** : in his second edition Tomadakis proposed ἐνεδείξατο for ἀνεδείξατο, but this change seems unnecessary. The verb ἀναδείκνυμι meaning "display", "exhibit", "reveal", "notify", and "proclaim" (any one as elected to office) (Liddell & Scott, s.v.) fits the context of this phrase exactly (Xenos mentions what God revealed *to* him), while ἐνδείκνυμι even if it carries almost the same meanings does not; so, there is no need to change it.

•15. **ἔχει** : one of the main characteristics of the text is the extensive use of participles such as ἔχων, here used instead of an indicative form. The adoption of the indicative form (ἔχει) is necessary since there is no main verb in the sentence.

From this phrase (ἔχει δὲ τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ οὕτως) Xenos starts recording his life; this phrase is usually found at the beginning of testaments.

•16. **Γονέων γὰρ γέγονα πλουσίων ἀπὸ χωρίου τοῦ λεγομένου Σίβα**: This reference by Xenos to his parents and his origin contradicts the epithet *xenos* by which Ioannes is known. His rich parents might suggest a common *topos*, used to denote his holiness, his renunciation of worldly ties and comforts, and his devotion to God; cf. Morris, *Monks and laymen in Byzantium*, 75-76. But it might reflect the fact that his parents were rich. Coming from an area such as Siva, where agriculture would have been the main occupation of people, being "rich" (= not poor) would not have been unusual. If that was the case, it would help to explain Xenos' knowledge of agriculture, how to plant and take care of vineyards, gardens, make cisterns for collecting water etc.

•16. **ἀπὸ χωρίου τοῦ λεγομένου Σίβα** : the birthplace of Ioannes Xenos was a village called Siva. Siva is a village in the county of Pyrgiotissa, prefecture of Heraklion, some kilometres south of the ancient Phaistos and east of the bay of Messarea or Messara. A second village with the same name exists in Malevizion county, prefecture of Heraklion. Petit was right when he concluded that the village in Xenos' *Life* is the one in Pyrgiotissa county near the cape of Lithines and not the other one. The toponyms Lithines and Raxos that are also found in the *Life* (see below) helped to identify the

birthplace of Xenos with Siva of Pyrgiotissa and not of Malevizion; see L. Petit, "Saint Jean Xénos ou l' Ermite d' après son autobiographie", *Analecta Bollandiana* 42(1924), 5-20, esp. 6. Francesco Basilicata (*proveditore generale* of Venice; during the Venetian occupation of the island generals were sent to Crete every two years from Venice to observe the situation on the island) in his *Relazione* (the report written by Basilicata in 1630) refers to the village as Siva di Priotissa (Siva of Pyrgiotissa); cf. Stergios Spanakis, *Μνημεία Κρητικής 'Ιστορίας*, V, Heraklion 1969, 119. For references to Siva in other documents of the Venetian period, see Stergios Spanakis, *Πόλεις καὶ χωριά τῆς Κρήτης στὸ πέρασμα τῶν αἰώνων*, vol. 2, Heraklion 1991, 711-712. The toponym Siva is probably arabic as Stephanos Xanthoudides says in *Χάνδαξ - 'Ηράκλειον*, Heraklion 1927, 16.

ll. 18-22. ἀπὸ ὄρος εἰς ὄρος καὶ ἐρημίαις ... τῷ καύσωνι τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῷ παγετῷ τοῦ χειμῶνος ... μετὰ τῶν ἀγρίων θηρίων καὶ ζώων συνοικῶν καὶ συνδιάγων : the struggle of holy men against the harsh environment is a common *topos* in the hagiographies of Saints. Bad weather conditions (cf. also διὰ τὴν δριμύτητα τοῦ χειμῶνος in l. 41), wandering around deserted and mountainous areas (cf. also τὸ ὄρος εἰς ὄρος in l. 38), are difficulties the holy man had to face; for examples, cf. the *Life of Saint Nikon* (Denis F. Sullivan, ed., *The Life of Saint Nikon*, Brookline, Massachusetts 1987): 4. 3-4 (δι' ἀβάτων ὁδῶν καὶ τόπων ἀνύδρων, καὶ πολὺ τὸ σκληρὸν κεκτημένων καὶ δύσπορον); 5. 39-40. (τοῦ ὄρους ὀξύτατου μάλα τυγχάνοντος καὶ πολὺ τὸ σκληρὸν καὶ ξηρόν); 7. 7-9 (μήτε τοῦ χειμερίου ψύχους μήτε τοῦ θερινοῦ φλογμοῦ μήτε ἄλλης τῆς οἰασοῦν κακώσεως ἑαυτὸν διαφυλάττων); 17. 16-18 (πρὸς γε ἡλίου φλόγα καὶ χειμῶνος δριμύτητα διαμαχόμενος καὶ μήτε τῷ παγετῷ εἶκων μήτε τῷ καύσωνι ἐνδιδούς); the *Life and Miracles of Saint Luke* (Carolyn L. & W. Robert Connor, eds., *The Life & Miracles of Saint Luke*, Brookline, Massachusetts 1994): 20. 7 (ψύχει τε πηγνύμενος καὶ καύσωνι συμφλεγόμενος); and the *Life of Lazaros of Mount Galesios* (*Vita S. Lazari auctore Gregorio monacho in Acta sanctorum*, November 3, Paris 1863-1940, 508-588): paragraphs 35 (τῷ τοῦ θέρους φλογμῷ καὶ τῷ παγετῷ τοῦ χειμῶνος καταφλεγόμενος καὶ ψυχόμενος); 59 (ψύχει τε καὶ καύσωνι πιεζόμενον); 111 (πνεύμασι βιαίοις καὶ ὄμβροις καὶ φλογμῷ θέρους καὶ ψύχει χειμερίῳ).

•19. **κακουχούμενος** : the word appears as **κακοχούμενος** in the manuscript and has been corrected by both previous editors; cf. Chapter 3. 1, vocabulary section, p. 83.

•19-20: **ἐποίησα χρόνους ἱκανοὺς ἐντελευόμενος** : the participle **ἐντελευόμενος** is found in this phrase as also in phrase **εἶτα ἐντελευόμενος ἐν τοῖς φιλοχρίστοις** (ll. 51-52). The verb **ἐντελεύομαι** is not recorded in any of the dictionaries, in *TLG* or in the glossaries of works of Cretan literature. In Liddell & Scott there are two verbs: **ἐντελέω** (complete, full; and the noun is **ἐντελής**) and **ἐντέλλω** (enjoin, command; mostly in Med. **τινί τι**; in a will, **φίλοις ταῦτα ἐντέλλομαι**; invest with legal powers, authorise to act). In Lampe there is **ἐντέλλομαι** meaning enjoin upon, urge, **τινί τι**; pass., of commands, be enjoined upon.

However, the author of the *Life* knew the verb **ἐντέλλομαι** as this is used in the phrase **τοῦτο διορίζομαι καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσι** (l. 130). Thus, it seems that with the use of the participle **ἐντελευόμενος**, the author was meaning something else. The word **ἐντολή** (command) seems to be the base of this verb-form. In Xenos' *Life* it seems to mean "giving instructions, command" and/or "following the command (of God)". Thus, according to the context in which it is used, **ἐντελευόμενος** has been translated as:

(ll. 19-20): **ἐποίησα χρόνους ἱκανοὺς ἐντελευόμενος**: "I spent considerable time following the command (of God)": i.e. trying to reach God, come close to Him.

(ll. 51-52): **Εἶτα ἐντελευόμενος ἐν τοῖς φιλοχρίστοις**: "Then, after explaining the divine command to the *philochristoi*": Xenos having seen the vision and having heard the voice from above ordering him to build a church in the name of the Mother of God, went to the *philochristoi* **ἐντελευόμενος**, i.e. explaining the command of God and telling them what he had to do; this can be considered as an indirect reference to Xenos' teaching.

•20-21. **τῷ παγετῷ** : the word appears in the accusative case in the manuscript, **τὸν παγετόν**, and has been corrected by both previous editors.

•22. **συνδιάγων** : the word is written as **συναδιάγων** in the manuscript, and has been corrected by both editors.

•22. **τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Λιθίνων:**

Lithines was the name of the mountain chain in the south part of the prefecture of Heraklion, east of the bay of Messarea (Messara). The mountain chain in this area is today called Asterousia; it seems that the western part of this mountain chain used to be called Lithines. Today Lithines is the name of the south cape of the island of Crete at the bay of Messarea (Messara), quite close to the village of Siva. This cape is also called Λίθινο. The names Lithines and Lithino mean "of stone" (>λίθος, ό), denoting the stony, mountainous areas. Lithines is also the name of a village belonging to the ex-municipality of Chandras, Sitia, prefecture of Lassithi. In a forged document of 1192 (1092) there is the following reference: "οἱ δὲ Λίθινοι νῦν ἔχουν καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ γονικά των ὥσπερ καὶ πρῶτον εἰς τὸ μέρος τοῦ Χανδάκου εἰς τὴν Γορτύνην"; cf. E. Gerland, *Histoire de la Noblesse Crétoise au Moyen Age*, Paris 1907, 99 and 109. Thus, the area called "Lithines" is connected with the area of Messarea (Messara) where Gortyna is situated; cf. N. B. Tomadakis, " 'Ο ἅγιος 'Ιωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ 'Ερημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ. 10ος–11ος αἰών. Ἀγιολογικά καὶ Ὑμνολογικά", *Ἑπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 46 (1983-1986), 1-117, esp. 18-19.

•22. **τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Λιθίνων, τοῦ λεγομένου τοῦ Ῥαξοῦ:**

The use of the participle τοῦ λεγομένου implies that Raxos is a mountain of Lithines, i.e. the mountain chain. This participle is used on many occasions in the *Life* to denote with precision the names of places and churches; for its syntax, see Chapter 3. 1, p. 77, note 20.

The toponym Raxos does not survive; cf. Tomadakis, " 'Ο ἅγιος 'Ιωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ 'Ερημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ. 10ος–11ος αἰών. Ἀγιολογικά καὶ Ὑμνολογικά", 21; Th. Detorakis, *Οἱ ἅγιοι τῆς πρώτης βυζαντινῆς περιόδου τῆς Κρήτης καὶ ἡ σχετικὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλολογία*, Athens 1970, 97, note 2. Leledakis mentions that Raxos is an area located half an hour away from the monastery of Hodegetria (14th century) in the mountainous area of the region of Pyrgiotissa; see Titos Sylligardakis, *Κρητικὸν Λειμωνάριον*, Athens 1984, 64-78, esp. 73, note 2 (Leledakis' study on Xenos is reprinted in Sylligardakis'

book, and all references will be to this reprint). Tomadakis ("Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἡ Διαθήκη αὐτοῦ", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 2 (1948), 47-72, esp. 72) noticed that Petit (*op. cit.*, 6-7) erroneously related Raxos to the village of Axos in the region of Mylopotamos, prefecture of Rethymnon. The toponym Axos remains unchanged to date; cf. Xanthoudides, "Τὸ δίπλωμα (προβελέγιον) τῶν Σκορδιλῶν Κρήτης", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Κρητικῶν Σπουδῶν* 2, 1939, 299-312, esp. 311. Discussing a 13th (?) century manuscript regarding the privileges of the Skordyles family, Xanthoudides comes to the conclusion that the Cretan people were very conservative regarding toponyms. Thousands of toponyms for villages or areas remain unchanged for centuries, some originating from the ancient classical period like Κίσσαμος, Τύλισσος, Ἀξός, Χερσόνησος, Σύβριτος, Ἐλεύθερνα etc, others from the Byzantine period, while very few come from the Venetian and Turkish period. Thus, according to Xanthoudides' article, the village Axos has nothing to do with the name Raxos that appears in the *Life of Xenos*.

The toponym Raxos appears in two forms regarding its accent: it is called ὁ or ἡ Ῥαξὸς or Ῥάξος; thus, Ῥαξοῦ and Ῥάξου in the genitive. In the *Life of Xenos* it appears in the masculine gender form. The manuscript's reading has been kept in the present edition while Tomadakis preferred Ῥάξου; he was either not aware of the second form or he preferred to correct the text; for Tomadakis' extensive, unnecessary and often erroneous corrections, see Chapter 4. 3, p. 146. Raxos appears as the place where many holy men had lived, died and were buried since the 4th century; see Detorakis, *Οἱ ἅγιοι τῆς πρώτης βυζαντινῆς περιόδου τῆς Κρήτης*, 97 (note 2), 93, 94, 103, 115, 149, 150, 152, 153.

No more references to the toponym Raxos appear in later historical sources; it appears for the last time in the *Life of Xenos*; see Detorakis, *op. cit.*, 97, note 2.

The mountainous area of Asterousia and especially its western part (which is called Lithines in the *Life*) used to be a popular place for hermits and holy men from the first centuries of Christianity. It was at that area, in Kaloi Limenes, that Saint Paul landed on his way to Rome (Acts of the Apostles: 27. 8) and Titos, Paul's pupil, started his teaching following his master's will (Titus: 1.5). Being far

away from villages and cities and due to its mountainous nature full of caves and remote places, this area proved to be the perfect setting for asceticism. According to tradition hermits and ascetics lived there since the years of persecutions. The place is also called " 'Αγίους" from the phrase "στοὺς 'Αγίους" (εἰς τοὺς 'Αγίους) meaning "at [the place of] the Saints"; see N. Psilakis, *Μοναστήρια καὶ Ἐρημητήρια τῆς Κρήτης*, vol. 1, Heraklion 1993, 207-8); cf. below on Saints Eutychios and Eutychianos and their burial place there.

It seems very natural that Xenos went to this area when he decided to follow the monastic life. Having been born in Siva, he would have been brought up close to this area where holy men had lived. Hearing about all these things from a young age as is mentioned in his *Life* (ll. 17-18. ἐκ νεαρᾶς ἡλικίας ποθοῦντός μου τὸν μονήρη βίον), it is no wonder that he went there when he decided to follow the monastic life. There are no sources that present a clear view of the area after 961. However, it seems quite natural that the area would have attracted people seeking the monastic life. Even if it had been abandoned or fallen into disuse as an ascetic place, tradition would have been strong enough to persuade people to go and live there. Contacts between Xenos and other holy men may have occurred and it seems highly probable that Xenos found his spiritual father there, who guided and helped him during his first monastic steps. At this stage of his life Xenos should have taken the monastic vows, though this is not mentioned in the *Life* and can be identified as one of the many narration gaps. It was not Xenos' main aim to refer to his spiritual father and to provide detailed information about his life before the first monastic foundation he established (see Chapter 3. 2, p. 92).

•ll. 23-24. **Κάκεισε προσμείνας ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὅλον διαδραμὼν καὶ εὐρὼν πολὺ δάσος καὶ ἀδιάβατον**: The holy mountain of Lithines (i.e. the western part of today's Asterousia) where Xenos stayed for a long time, seems to be very deserted with wild vegetation according to the *Life*; cf. also below, ll. 32-35.

The word πολὺ in the manuscript is spelt incorrectly (πολλύν). Delehaye corrected it (πολύ) while Tomadakis erroneously kept πολύν in his edition as if δάσος (τό) was of masculine gender. The

word ἀδιάβατον given as διάβατος in the manuscript, was corrected by the previous editors.

•24. ὁ καὶ ἔνδοθεν ὑπείσελθών: ὃν καὶ of the manuscript is corrected by both previous editors; see Chapter 3. 1, pp. 83-84, for this clumsy expression which results from the use of the verb ὑπείσερχομαι and the adverb ἔνδοθεν .

The verb ὑπείσερχομαι means "slip into" and "enter upon secretly" while in this particular context the notion of secrecy is not implied; here, it carries the meaning of "entering into from beyond", as if Xenos entered the cave from a lower place.

•25. εὖρον : given as a participle (εὖρων) in the manuscript, and changed to the aorist form by both previous editors; see Chapter 3. 1, p. 74, note 8.

•25-26. δύο μνημεῖα, ἓν μὲν κατ' ἄρκτον, ἕτερον δὲ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν : the word "monuments" is used in the translation to denote the tombs of Eutychios and Eutychianos found by Xenos in the cave. These tombs lay to the north and south, and Xenos built the church in the cave with east-west orientation; on these monuments, see below on ll. 29-30; on the church built by Xenos, see entry on ll. 34-35.

•26. ἄρα : the word is mistakenly accentuated in the manuscript (ἄρα) and neither of the editors realised that the word needs a circumflex since it is an interrogative word; it is part of the phrase-question "τί ἄρα ταῦτα εἰσίν," that Xenos asks himself. The previous editors did not study the language in which the text is written and thus they did not realise the interplay between direct and indirect speech; for a discussion on the orality reflected in the text, see Chapter 3. 2, pp. 91-92.

•27-28. κατήλθεν μοι ἐκ τρίτου φωνή : the manuscript gives κατήλθον (sic), the 1st person singular of the verb, while the 3rd person is required here since the verb's subject is φωνή. The scribe probably was misled by the previous verb ἐξήλθον (subject ἐγώ, i.e. Xenos).

The phrase ἐκ τρίτου, denoting something that cannot be named, refers to God; the voice derived from God. It is translated "from

above". Lazaros of Mount Galesios heard a similar voice "from above" ordering him what to do (18. ἀκούει φωνῆς ἄνωθεν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ κρημνοῦ ἐκ τρίτου πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτω λεγούσης). Similar phrases referring to the voice from above, i.e. God, are often found in the New Testament; there are references to a voice coming from the skies (e.g. φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, Matt. 3.17), or a cloud (e.g. φωνὴ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης, Luc. 9.35).

•29. **ἐνταῦθα** : in the manuscript ἐνταῦτα (cf. also l. 46), corrected by both previous editors. The type ἐνταῦθα is used in l. 44; cf. Chapter 3. 1, p. 83.

•29-30. **δύο μνημεῖα εἰσὶν Εὐτυχίου καὶ Εὐτυχιανοῦ** : According to tradition Saints Eutychios and Eutychianos and their sister Kassiane lived as hermits during the first years of Christianity at the area which Xenos describes in his *Life*. For these local Saints no sources survive, although Eutychianos is referred to as bishop of Gortyna. It is also said that Eutychios and Eutychianos were buried in a cave at this place and since then the whole area is called "στς 'Αγίους" (εἰς τοὺς 'Αγίους) meaning "at [the place of] the Saints"; on the use of this phrase (στς 'Αγίους) during the Venetian period of the island, see Psilakis, *Μοναστήρια καὶ Ἐρημητήρια τῆς Κρήτης*, vol. 1, 210. The feastday of the three Saints is August 17th; cf. Titos M. Sylligardakis, *Κρήτες Ἅγιοι*, Rethymnon Crete 1983, 123-130; and idem, *Κρητικὸν Λειμωνάριον*, Athens 1984, 515-528, esp. 527-528.

•32. **καὶ θέμενος** : καθέμενος is given in the manuscript. Tomadakis corrected it while Delehayé did not; cf. Chapter 4. 3, 146-147.

•32-33. **ἀπηρξάμην ἐξεδαφίζειν τὰ τε ξύλα καὶ τὰ φρύγανα καὶ καθαρίζειν τὰ ῥηθέντα μνημεῖα** : Xenos had to clear the place before building his first church dedicated to Eutychios and Eutychianos; it might have fallen into disuse during the Arab occupation of the island.

The infinitive ἐξεδαφίζειν appears as ἐκδαφίζειν (sic) in the manuscript and it has been corrected by both previous editors. The scribe thought that the second *epsilon* of the verb ἐξεδαφίζω was an augment and taking that out, he formed ἐκδαφίζειν (sic) for the infinitive.

It seems that the word ξύλον is used for a "tree" ("timber") in the text, cf. line 57.

•34. **ἀνέγειρα** : the manuscript form that both editors changed to ἀνήγειρα; for the use of the augment cf. Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, pp. 80-81.

•34. **ναόν** : meaning "temple", the word is transliterated in the translation. For the terms Xenos uses when he refers to his monastic foundations, see below, entry on τὴν τοιαύτην μονήν, l. 52.

•34-35. **τῶν ἁγίων Εὐτυχίου καὶ Εὐτυχιανοῦ** : the manuscript gives τὸν ἅγιον Εὐτύχιον καὶ Εὐτυχιανὸν and the correction introduced by Tomadakis has been accepted in the present edition.

•34-35. **ναόν τῶν ἁγίων Εὐτυχίου καὶ Εὐτυχιανοῦ** : Situated to the south-west of the monastery of Hodegetria, the ruins of the church built by Xenos exist today (see photo 6) and this monument is now called "of the Saints Eutychianoï" (τῶν ἁγίων Εὐτυχιανῶν).

According to the *Life* the church dedicated to Saints Eutychios and Eutychianos was built by Xenos at the burial place of the Saints (see above). There are no sources which document this monument in the immediate period after Xenos built it. It seems that sometime later the monastery was renovated by somebody called Agathokles, as a partly destroyed inscription testifies. Although only ruins of Xenos' church survive today, later buildings exist. In 1423 the monastery functioned as an orthodox monastery while it belonged to the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople. After 1648 it devolved to the monastery of Hodegetria; cf. Psilakis, *Μοναστήρια καὶ Ἑρημητήρια τῆς Κρήτης*, vol. 1, 208ff.

Petit (*op. cit.*, 7) erroneously identified the church of Eutychios and Eutychianos with the church of Saint Eutychios located near Chromonastiri, Rethymnon. He probably got confused with the mistaken identification of Raxos with Axos, a village close to Chromonastiri; cf. N.B. Drandakis, "Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ Ἁγίου Εὐτυχίου Ρεθύμνης", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 10 (1956), 215-236. Tomadakis, who considered himself an expert on Cretan topics, failed to identify this church, ignored the existence of these important local Saints (see

" Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ Ἐρημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ. 10ος–11ος αἰών. Ἀγιολογικὰ καὶ Ὑμνολογικά", 17) and only referred to the Saints of the Orthodox Church, who are different from these two Cretan Saints.

It is noteworthy, and strange as well, that Xenos does not refer to the church of Saints Eutychios and Eutychianos after this first mention in his *Life*, while he usually goes back to his monastic establishments to supervise their function and this is recorded throughout the *Life*.

•37. καταλείψας ἐκεῖσε ἓνα ἀδελφόν : The *Life* records that Xenos left one brother in the church of Saints Eutychios and Eutychianos. It might seem strange that he found another monk in the middle of this deserted place. But one must not forget that it always attracted holy men, hermits and ascetics and some of them might have wanted to join other holy men and establishments. There is, however, no reference to Xenos establishing this brother as a monk.

•37. ἀναχώρησα : the previous editors changed it to ἀνεχώρησα; for the use of the augment, cf. Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, pp. 80-81.

•38-39. ἄχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ὄρους Μυριοκεφάλου : as far as the peak of the mountain Myriokephalon. Myriokephalon means "thousand peaks". It is indeed a mountainous area but not of immense height. Today it is known as Myriokephala and gives its name to a village of the county of Rethymnon on the borders of Rethymnon and Apokoronas. In the middle of this village the church dedicated to the Mother of God, the Antiphonetria built by Xenos, still exists today. It is also called of the Μυριοφύτων ("thousand plants", i.e. very fertile place) and its feastday is September 8th, nativity of the Virgin. After the church was built and following Xenos' activities which made the place famous and the centre of various activities, the village grew up and flourished. This fact testifies to the importance of Xenos' activities for the area. On the church, see below.

•38-39. ἀπῆλθον ἄχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ὄρους Μυριοκεφάλου, ἐπάνω τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ λεγομένου Τούρμα τοῦ Καλαμῶνος : at this point of the *Life*

Xenos records that he "went away as far as the peak of the mountain Myriocephalon, above the village called Tourma of Kalamon". This phrase indicates that the village called Tourma of Kalamon should be located at a place below the peak of Myriocephalon mountain. Throughout the *Life* there is an extensive use of adverbs and of verbs with certain prepositions that help to define the topography of the places Xenos visited, and also help in the identification of certain locations cited in the *Life*; examples: ἄνω τοῦ ὄρους (l. 40); ἐπάνω τοῦ χαμοβουνίου (l. 56); ἀνηπέστρεψα εἰς τὴν μονὴν (l. 74, with ἄν- meaning "up" and denoting a higher level); ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν μονὴν (ll. 88-89); ὀπίσω ἐν γαλῶ (l. 122); ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν Ἀζωγυρέαν (ll. 123-124); ἔξω εἰς τὴν Ἀκτὴν (l. 127).

•39. ἐπάνω τοῦ χωρίου τοῦ λεγομένου Τούρμα τοῦ Καλαμώνος :

The term *tourma* denotes the administrative and military subdivision of a *thema*. Usually a *thema* consisted of three *tourmae* (N. Oikonomides, *Les Listes de Préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles*, Paris 1972, 341); however, there are cases of a *thema* consisting of two to four *tourmae* (Hélène Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur l'administration de l'empire byzantin aux IX^e-XI^e siècles", *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique* 84 [1960], 1-109 [=study viii in Ahrweiler, *Études sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance*, London 1971], esp. 80, note 5). Crete was a *thema* with a *strategos* after 961 as sigillographic evidence and the *Taktikon of Escorial* (971-975) testify (see Chapter 1. 1, pp. 35 and 55). Regarding its administrative subdivision into *tourmae* the extant sources do not give sufficient information. A Patmian document of 1193 mentions a "tourma of the north of Messara" (cf. D. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete. From the 5th century to the Venetian Conquest*, Athens 1988, 186). There is also a seal of a *merarches* of Knossos which dates to the 11th-12th century (Tsougarakis, "The Byzantine Seals of Crete", *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, vol. 2, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D. C. 1990, 137-152, esp. 151, catalogue no. 56); *merarches* is the antiquarian term for a *tourmarches* (Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 186) (for a discussion about the administrative situation of Crete based on these sources, see Tsougarakis, *op. cit.*, 186-187). This reference in Xenos' *Life* might denote the existence of another

tourma, that of Kalamon covering a certain area, which cannot be specified due to the lack of sources. The *Life* of Xenos might be the first document providing information about the existence of a *tourma* bearing the name Kalamon.

The name Kalamon appears for the first time as the name of a bishopric in *Notitia* 13 (12th century) in the recensio AS (while in recensio M instead of Kalamon there is Lampe) (see table 1). It seems that the bishopric under this name replaced the bishopric of Lampe or Lappa sometime after 961, just as the bishopric of Sybritos was replaced by Arion (for the renaming of the bishoprics and the redefinition of their geographical extent, see below, entry on Arion). The name Kalamon also appears in two documents of November and December 1196; these two documents reveal the existence of the bishopric of Kalamon. (see Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 241-242).

It is clear that in the *Life* of Xenos the name Kalamon does not appear as the name of a bishopric; it is used together with the term Tourma in the phrase "the village called Tourma of Kalamon". Tourma is capitalised in the present edition as it appears as the name of a village. This village might have been the centre of the area called Kalamon, which seems from the text to be an administrative subdivision (*tourma*) of the *thema* of Crete. The broader area around Myriokephalon had been an important area since the Roman period (see I. F. Sanders, *Roman Crete*, Warminster, Wilts 1982); however, Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 187, wonders why a village in this area should have been considered important enough to be the centre of a *tourma*. It seems probable that the name of the *tourma* gave its name to the bishopric and the area of the bishopric might have coincided with the area of the *tourma*.

•40-41. εὖρον [ἦν] ἄνω τοῦ ὄρους κτίσμα ἑλληνικὸν παμμέγεθες τοῦ λεγομένου Μυριοκεφάλου: The manuscript gives εὖρον ἦν ἄνω τοῦ ὄρους. In the present edition ἦν has been deleted and placed between brackets. Delehayé added <ὃ> in his edition (εὖρον ὃ ἦν) which was also accepted by Tomadakis in his editions; on this syntactical mistake, see Chapter 3. 1, syntax section, p. 77. Edward Kurtz (see Chapter 4. 3, p. 144, note 2) tried to restore the defective syntax at this point and proposed εὖρον ἐπάνω τοῦ ὄρους. The proposition by

Kurtz is not a successful one; both previous editors of the text and Kurtz had not realised the text's style and language, and especially the paratactic sentence structure and the *asyndeton*, which resulted on many occasions in defective syntax. For other examples of defective syntax in the text, cf. Chapter 3. 1, pp. 77-78.

Of special note is the order of the words in this phrase: κτίσμα ἑλληνικὸν παμμέγεθες is placed within the phrase ἄνω τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ λεγομένου Μυριοκεφάλου, in such a way that it breaks the natural sequence; cf. Chapter 3. 1, syntax section, p. 77.

•40-41. κτίσμα ἑλληνικὸν παμμέγεθες - καὶ διὰ τὴν δριμύτηταν τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰσῆλθον ὧδε:

Due to the harshness of winter Xenos took refuge in this immense pagan building located on the mountain Myriokephalon. Previous scholars who worked on Xenos and his *Life*, referred to the ruins of basilicas of the first Byzantine period found in the area (cf. Psilakis, *Μοναστήρια καὶ Ἐρημητήρια τῆς Κρήτης*, 178 and 191) without attempting to identify what that immense pagan building was. Antourakis erroneously proposed its identification with the settlement of Onychas (G. B. Antourakis, *Αἱ μοναὶ Μυριοκεφάλων καὶ Ρουστίκων μετὰ τῶν παρεκκλησίων αὐτῶν. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἔρευναν τῶν Χριστιανικῶν μνημείων τῆς Κρήτης*, Athens 1977, 56-57).

If this building was a basilica, Xenos would have recognised it as a Christian monument and would not have called it ἑλληνικὸν meaning pagan, which denotes something that was not Christian. The area of Myriokephalon flourished during the Roman period and ruins of buildings still exist in the area. The building Xenos describes as an immense pagan building should be identified with the large Roman *thermae* (bath houses) that exist in the area. For a description of these *thermae*, see Sanders, *Roman Crete*, 83-84; cf. Stergios Spanakis, *Κρήτη (τουριστικός ὁδηγός)*, Heraklion 1972, 243. R. Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, vol. I, London 1837, 83 and 81 (drawing), describes how large and impressive these buildings were at the time of his travels; (see photo 7); and also M. Defner, *Ὀδοιπορικαὶ ἐντυπώσεις ἀπὸ τὴν Δυτικὴν Κρήτην*, Athens 1918, 73-74, who travelled around the island and described what he saw there including the Roman *thermae*.

These *thermae* are located west of the church of Myriokephala that is identified as the main monastery Xenos built. According to the *Life*, Xenos built the church east of the "immense pagan building" (see ll. 43-46). Thus, the immense pagan building should be identified with the Roman *thermae* of the area.

•40. **παμμέγεθες** : this 3rd declension adjective of neuter gender is given as **παμμεγεθῆ** in the manuscript. For the 3rd declension adjectives in the text, see Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, p. 82; and for a similar 3rd declension adjective within the text see commentary entry **περιβόλιν πολυτελές** (l. 82).

•41. **διὰ τὴν δριμύτηταν τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰσῆλθον ὧδε** : Xenos entered the building to protect himself from the cold. The phrase **διὰ τὴν δριμύτηταν τοῦ χειμῶνος** is a very common phrase in hagiographical texts; see above, entry on ll. 18-22.

•41. **δριμύτηταν** : Delehayé corrected the spelling mistake of the manuscript (**δριμύτηταν** for **δρυμήτηταν** of the manuscript) while Tomadakis changed it to **δριμύτητα** eliminating the final *v* according to the rules of the 3rd declension. For the interplay between the 1st and 3rd declensions, cf. Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, p. 82.

•42. **ἐποίησα ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ τυφλός** :

The case of blindness, among other cases of physical incapability, is found in many hagiographical texts; Saint Paul was blind for three days on the road to Damascus before converting to Christianity (Acts of the Apostles: 26).

Number seven (7) is a "special" number (cf. Lampe, s.v.). In the Septuagint more than 100 parallels appear in *TLG*, e.g. seven were the days of the Creation.

The reference to the holy man finding a cave or a ruined building and taking refuge there to protect himself from the cold or spend the night is a common *topos*. It might be followed by the holy man becoming blind until a vision or a voice from above comes and orders him what to do. Similar parallels are found in the *Life of Lazaros of Mount Galesios* where the holy man enters a cave to find *eremia* and *hesychia* (10. ἔστι τι σπήλαιον, τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐπιτήδειον

πρὸς ἡσυχίαν). The best parallel, however, to Xenos' case is found in Nikon's *Life* (§21) where the holy man took refuge in some ruins to spend his night there; at that place he had a vision accompanied by a strong light and a woman appeared in front of him ordering him to build a church; he became blind and when he was about to start building he regained his vision.

Xenos might have simply become blind "for a week". But it seems that he knew that similar cases of physical incapability and also this "special" period of time (seven days), were related to holiness. Thus, he decided to record this in his text (with special reference to number seven) as proof of his holiness and of being chosen by God for his mission.

•43-46. ἶδε κατὰ ἀνατολάς – κατὰ ἀνατολὰς στάς – εἶδον φῶς μέγα καὶ διακελευούσης φωνῆς τοιαύτης, ὅτι " ἐνταῦθα ἀνεγείραι μέλλεις ... : Ioannes was ordered to come out of the "immense pagan building" and look towards the east where he saw a great light; in that direction he was ordered to build the church in the name of the Mother of God. This church is situated east of the Roman *thermae* and thus the "immense pagan building" should certainly be identified with the *thermae*; cf. ll. 40-41.

•44. χειραγωγούμενος : the word is given in the manuscript as χειραγούμενος and has been corrected by both previous editors; cf. Chapter 3. 1, vocabulary section, p. 83.

•46-47. οἶκον τῆς πανυμνήτου Θεοτόκου τῆς Ἀντιφωνητρίας :

The appellation of the Mother of God as Antiphonetria, i.e. "the one who responds", might be connected with a Constantinopolitan trend of the 11th century. Although the icon of Christ Antiphonetes was one of the most popular icons of Constantinople, famous for its miracles from as early as the 7th century, in the 11th century a trend is recorded about the popularity of Christ Antiphonetes. The empress Zoe had a particular devotion to Christ Antiphonetes and according to Psellos she owned an icon that allowed her to foretell the future; she also built a church of Christ Antiphonetes in which she was buried; see Cyril Mango, *The Brazen House*, Copenhagen 1959, 142-148. An icon of Christ Antiphonetes appears inscribed on

her coins and on other coins of the 11th century; see Alfred R. Bellinger and Philip Grierson, eds., *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore collection*, Washington D.C. 1973, vol. 3.1, 162. The image of Christ Antiphonetes is also known to us from an 11th century mosaic, now destroyed, on one of the eastern piers in the church of the Dormition in Nicaea (Mango, "The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition in Nicaea", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959), 245-252).

Thus, the appellation of the Mother of God as Antiphonetria might be placed in the general context of the renewed connections of the island of Crete with the capital city after the Byzantine reconquest. It should be noted though that Xenos had not been to Constantinople yet; but maybe the fame and trend of this appellation has reached Crete after 961.

On *oikos* (shrine) and the other words used by Xenos to describe his monastic foundations, see entry on line 52 (τὴν τοιαύτην μονήν).

•47-48. διῆλθον τοὺς φιλοχρίστους : the verb διέρχομαι means go through, go among, pass through, go through in detail, recount (Liddell & Scott, s.v.); Thus, after seeing the vision, Xenos went among the *philochristoi* and made clear that he needed their help for the building of the church.

•48. τοὺς φιλοχρίστους :

The adjective φιλόχριστος means the Christ-loving, devout person. It is usually used as an adjectival complement to nouns. In the *Life of Xenos* this adjective appears in its plural form and is used as a noun denoting the anonymous people who followed and helped Xenos in all his activities. The *philochristoi* help Xenos to buy land (l. 48), build churches (l. 52), acquire animals (ll. 76-77) and beehives (l. 85). Xenos insists on the significance of their role and their continuous offers of help (ll. 104, 110-111, 112-113). They followed him everywhere and did not even allow him to rest and pray (l. 126). There was a mutual relationship between Xenos and the *philochristoi*; cf. Chapter 2, pp. 68-69.

The term *philochristoi* is also used once to denote the anonymous devout people of Constantinople who offered Xenos goods for his

monastic establishments in Crete (l. 102-103: ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοχρίστων ἐκεῖσε). It is interesting to note that Xenos distinguishes the *philochristoi* from the inhabitants of certain villages (l. 67. τοὺς οἰκήτορας; l. 69. οἱ χωρῖται) and the heirs, i.e. landowners, of certain areas (ll. 49, 79. κληρονόμους; ll. 50, 60. κληρονόμοι), although they too helped him in his building activities and donated him land.

The same word *philochristoi* meaning anonymous Christians can also be found in *Patria of Constantinople*, a collection of texts devoted to the history and the monuments of the capital city (Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. III. Περὶ κτισμάτων), (ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ φιλόχριστοι, ὅτι 'τὸ εἶδωλον, ὃ σέβασαι, ψευμάτινος θεός ἐστιν' = the *philochristoi* were saying that "the idol which you worship is a mendacious god") (Th. Praeger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, II, Leipzig 1907, 258); cf. the tale *De canonica nuda* of Paul of Monembasia (10th century), (σπουδαίως οὖν οἱ φιλόχριστοι ἤγαγον πολλὰ ἱμάτια) (John Wortley, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie, et d'autres auteurs*, Paris 1987, 112, line 65). Anonymous Christians called *philochristoi* are also found in the *Life of Lazaros of Mount Galesios*; they help Lazaros to build cells (33. εἰς μὲν τὴν τῶν κελλίων οἰκοδομὴν ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν φιλοχρίστων συνεργοὶ γεγονάσιν), and they also donate money for Lazaros' monastic foundations (198. ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ φιλοχρίστων διδομένων αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν μονὴν προσέφερε).

A close parallel to the *philochristoi* of the *Life of Xenos* is found in dedicatory inscriptions in orthodox churches (13th century onwards) under the terms φιλόχριστοι, χριστιανοί, ὀρθόδοξοι χριστιανοί; cf. Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits in thirteenth-century churches of Greece*, Vienna 1992, esp. 35-37; eadem, "Aspects of Patronage in Fourteenth-Century Byzantium. Regions under Serbian and Latin Rule", *Βυζάντιο καὶ Σερβία κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ' αἰῶνα*, Athens 1996, 363-379, esp. 378. These inscriptions are also interesting as they often contain detailed lists of the people's offerings, which consisted of arable land, trees, money etc; the inscriptions seem to function as *brebia*, lists of the church's property.

•48. ἐνδεής τούτων γεγωνός : The phrase means "lacking in", "in need of", "being unable". By this phrase Xenos states to the *philochristoi*

that he needs their help. This is a common practice holy men follow; after having a vision or a "call" from God, they go to the people, quite often holding holy icons or relics, and ask for their help. See also ll. 76-77.

•49. ἀπὸ τοὺς ἰδίους κληρονόμους : the heirs, i.e. landowners, of the area of Myriokephalon; by this term the legal possessors of land of the area are denoted. Three different terms are used for the people who sell or donate land holdings to Xenos for his monasteries; κληρονόμοι, χωρίται and οἰκήτορες. Οἰκήτορες (l. 67) are the inhabitants of a certain village (χωρίον); these persons are also called χωρίται (l. 69) and they present Xenos with a gift of a small piece of arable land (χωραφίτζιν) and some trees (l. 70); this property should be considered as a communal possession of the village, donated to Xenos by its inhabitants. In contrast, the term κληρονόμοι denoting the legal possessors of land, is used four times for three different cases and areas. In ll. 49 and 50 the κληρονόμοι (heirs) of the area of Myriokephala sell a certain area to Xenos; this is accompanied by a purchase contract and by the definition of this area's boundaries. In l. 60 the heirs in Melix donate to Xenos a place where he made a vineyard and a garden, and also arable land, and in l. 79 Xenos buys from the heirs of the area of Mousela two plots of ground.

Thus, in Xenos' *Life* there are references to peasants who are the legal possessors of land, and to communal property belonging to a group of people, the inhabitants of a certain village; cf. M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle. Propriété et exploitation du sol*, Paris 1992, 185ff.

•49. ἑαυτόν : the manuscript gives the accusative form ἑαυτόν which Delehaye did not change while Tomadakis did (ἑαυτῷ). On the reflexive pronoun and its different forms in the text, cf. Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, pp. 79-80, and on its syntax, pp. 75-76.

•49-50. πρῶτον ἔγγραφον πρὸς με ἐξέθεντο : the word ἔγγραφον is written with one *gamma* in the manuscript (ἔγραφον), a mistake that is repeated later on in the text (l. 129: ἔγραφως for ἐγγράφως) and adds

to the extensive spelling mistakes of the text. Correction introduced by the previous editors.

The word ἐξέθεντο has a legal meaning; it also carries the notion of "issue" (they issued a first document for me). This phrase reflects a legal agreement (notarial deed) with special emphasis on the ownership of a specific area.

•50. κληρονόμοι : the manuscript's reading κληρονόμους has been corrected by the previous editors. On the term, see above.

•50-51. τοῦ λεγομένου Μυριοκεφάλου, διαιρῶν τὸν τόπον ῥητῶς καὶ περικλείων : the paratactic sentence structure, the *asyndeton* and the many participles have caused a defective syntax in this phrase; after Μυριοκεφάλου we would expect καί. However, the introduction of a comma instead of καί was thought adequate in the present edition as it was also indicated by the presence of an upper point before the participle διαιρῶν in the manuscript. On the punctuation signs used in the manuscript, see Chapter 4. 2, pp. 142-143; on the paratactic sentence structure, the *asyndeton* and the defective syntax, see Chapter 3. 1, pp. 74-78, esp. 77-78.

Xenos arrived at the area and purchased a piece of land from the legal landowners in order to build the church as he was ordered. The owners of this piece of land gave him a written deed. And Xenos, with the authority of this written document, marked the boundaries. He clearly (ῥητῶς) defined the boundaries as he did not want the property of his monastic foundation to be mixed up with other properties of the neighbours. And after defining this property, he enclosed it all round. Xenos appears to be a man of foresight; he understands the dangers that might develop and tries to prevent them.

•52. ἐντελευόμενος ἐν τοῖς φιλοχρίστοις : on the participle ἐντελευόμενος, see above, ll. 19-20.

The *philochristoi* are the same as the ones recorded in line 48, i.e. the anonymous devout people in the area of Myriokephalon who first helped Xenos to acquire the land. Now they help him in building the church of the Mother of God, the Antiphonetria.

•52. τὴν τοιαύτην μονήν : the demonstrative pronoun τοιαύτην might indicate that Xenos is showing the monastery of the Mother of God to his disciples while recording his life and final will. This might be an additional element next to the phrase τὴν μονὴν ἣν ὁρᾶτε (l. 103) to confirm the writing of the *Life of Xenos* at the site of the monastery of Myriokephala. Additionally, in line 55 the same demonstrative pronoun is used once again to denote the monastery in Myriokephala (τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς). This pronoun is used in line 79 as well (εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην περιοχὴν) and refers to the wider area of the monastery in Myriokephala; cf. Chapter 3. 2, p. 90.

The way Xenos refers to his foundations and the terms he uses for them is worth discussing. The most important element is that he only uses the word μονή (monastery) for the monastic foundation in Myriokephala which was the main nucleus of the net of monastic establishments he founded; cf. ll. 52, 55, 74, 87, 89, 91, 93 (ταύτην), 96, 100, 103, 105, 117, 125, 132 and 136. For this same foundation the word *oikos* (shrine) is used once (l. 46) in the phrase Xenos heard from above ordering him to build this church in the name of the Mother of God, the Antiphonetria.

The word *naos* (temple) is used for Xenos' first building in the name of Saints Eutychios and Eutychianos (ll. 30, 34) and also for Saint Georgios Opsaropiastes (l. 68) and the Mother of God in Koufos (l. 119); for the last two foundations he also uses the term *kellion* (cell) when referring to the organisation of these monastic foundation units. Thus, the word *naos* is used for the actual building of the temple (church) and the word *kellion* is used for the whole monastic unit with additional buildings and property.

The word *euktirion* denoting a small oratory is used for Saint Pavlos (l. 123), the smallest church built by Xenos on the south seashore of western Crete with no attached buildings or property, and also for Saint Georgios the Douvrikas (l. 65) which is also called a *métochion*, a monastic establishment subordinate to a larger independent monastery (ll. 107-108). The use of the word *euktirion* at the end of Xenos' *Life* (l. 135) for all the monastic units Xenos founded does not allow us to say that Xenos was using the word *euktirion* only for the small churches he built like the one of Saint Pavlos; cf. Carolyn L. & W. Robert Connor, *The Life & Miracles of*

Saint Luke, Brookline, Massachusetts, 1994, chapter 67 and commentary, pp. 173-174.

The word *metochion* is also used to denote the dependent units of the main monastery in Myriocephala (Saint Georgios the Douvrikas at Melix, ll. 107-108; Saint Georgios Opsaropiastes at Arion, l. 108; and Saint Patapios at Mousela, ll. 81, 107). For a discussion of the dependency of all monastic units to the main monastery, see Chapter 2, p. 69.

Apart from the use of the word μονή (monastery) for the main monastic unit, terms referring to the other units are used interchangeably in the text.

•52-53. τὴν τοιαύτην μονὴν τῆς θεομήτορος καὶ πανάγνου Θεοτόκου τῆς Ἀντιφωνητρίας : The main monastic foundation of Xenos formed around the church dedicated to the Mother of God, the Antiphonetria, and located today in the middle of the village of Myriocephala.

The "free-cross" domed church that still survives is dated to the 11th century. It presents three layers of frescoes, the first of which is dated to the 11th century; moreover, a rather worn dedicatory inscription, in which the third indiction may be read, coincides with the years 1005 or 1020. During the 14th century an extension westwards took place (see photo 8). On the monument: Emm. Borboudakis, "Μεσαιωνικὰ μνημεῖα Κρήτης", *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 26 (1971), 528 (B2. Χρονικά); idem, "Μεσαιωνικὰ μνημεῖα Κρήτης", *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 28 (1973), 604 (B2. Χρονικά); idem, "Μεσαιωνικὰ μνημεῖα Κρήτης", *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 29 (1973-74), 939-940 (B3. Χρονικά); idem, "Βυζαντινὰ καὶ Μεσαιωνικὰ μνημεῖα Κρήτης – Ἐκθεσις", *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 23 (1971), 506-507; idem, "Βυζαντινὰ καὶ Μεσαιωνικὰ μνημεῖα Κρήτης – Ἐκθεσις", *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 25 (1973), 489, 501-503; Klaus Gallas, Klaus Wessel, M. Borboudakis, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, Munich 1983, 82-82, 258-261; Antourakis, *op. cit.*.

On the first layer of frescoes dated to the 11th century, the artistic situation in Crete during the 11th century and the architectural type of the churches connected with Xenos, see Chapter 2, pp. 62-66. Major exterior restoration took place in 1973 and was continued in the 1990's. Last year (1998) the Archaeological Service started removing the plaster from the outside walls and the actual church

built by Xenos can now be seen (for the various stages of restoration work during the last years, see photos 9 and 10).

Even though the monastery of the Mother of God in Myriocephala was the main monastic unit of Xenos' activities, there are no other sources regarding its function during the Byzantine period. There is only one surviving reference to the monastery from the Venetian period of the island (1210-1669; 1646 for the area of the monastery). It occurs in a document of the 14th century (1379) according to which the village of Myriocephala belonged to the family of Barrozzi and a monk and an inhabitant of the village were allowed to rent fields of the village; "quod possint incantare et accipere ad affictum quoddam territorium sive casale vocatum Mirochiofala de Rettimo"; one of the persons who was renting the fields was called "Jani Mirochiafaliti de Rethymno", i.e. Ioannes of Myriocephala; see St. Xanthoudides, *Ἡ Ἐνετοκρατία ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τῶν Ἐνετῶν ἀγῶνες τῶν Κρητῶν*, Athens 1939, 110; and F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, vol. 1 (1329-1399), Paris 1958, 219, no. 935. It is unknown whether that monk had anything to do with the monastery Xenos built, or what had happened to it during the Venetian occupation.

The sources for the monastery are similarly scarce for the period of the Turkish occupation of the island; the area of the monastery was occupied by the Turks in 1646. According to tradition the monastery was destroyed by the Turks in 1770, although no source documents this date, and restored during the second half of the 19th century. It appears to have become dependent on the monastery in the village of Roustika sometime during the Turkish occupation of the island. A patriarchal *sigillion* of 1848 separates the monastery of Myriocephala from the one of Roustika and turns Myriocephala into an autonomous *stauropegiakon* (dependent on the patriarch); cf. Eum. Fanourakis, "Πατριαρχικὸν ἐν μεμβράναις σιγίλλιον τῆς ἐν Ρεθύμνῳ Ἱ. Μονῆς Μυριοκεφάλου", *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 7 (1953), 389-393. For the monastery during the Venetian and Turkish period, see Psilakis, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 183-191.

•53-54. προσεκτησάμην ἃ Αὐτὴ ηὐδόκησεν καὶ οἰκονόμησεν : after mentioning the building of the main monastic foundation in

Myriocephala, Xenos continues with this statement regarding the property of the monastery. The phrase "I gained the following (things) which She consented (to accept) and regulated" and especially the word " ἃ " will be explained and specified below. Everything from now onwards will be an explanation of this ἃ .

•54. ἕνα : the manuscript gives ἔν which the previous editors corrected to ἕνα. It is either a gender confusion or an error due to oversight during copying. The word has been translated as "a man" which is a pronoun and not as "one" which is a numeral.

•55. Λουκᾶ : this form, given in the manuscript, has been changed by the editors into the form Λουκᾶν. But the elimination of the final ν in the accusative singular is indicative of the later Byzantine period; cf. Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, p. 82. So no change is necessary.

•54-55. καὶ οὕτως ἐκούρευσα ἕνα, τὸν μοναχὸν Λουκᾶ : One might wonder how Xenos could establish monks since there is no reference in the *Life* to him taking monastic vows. This lack of information should be considered as one of the narration gaps that exist in the *Life*; cf. Chapter 3. 2, p. 92. If Xenos had taken monastic vows in the area of the mountain Raxos which was a very popular mountain for hermits and holy men (cf. entry above), he would have been able to establish monks. For the ordination of a priest though, the presence of a bishop is required. The lack of this information can also be considered as one of the narration gaps of the *Life*. References in the *Life* for Xenos establishing monks and priests are found in ll. 62-64 and 71. It should be noted that in the first church Xenos built in the area of mountain Raxos in the name of Saints Eutychios and Eutychianos, there is no reference to Xenos establishing a monk. This might suggest that the brother who stayed in charge of this church was already a monk.

•55-57. τόπον ἕτερον τοῦ λεγομένου τοῦ Μέλικοῦ καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ χαμοβουνίου ἀνελθὼν ἀνοικοδόμησα τὸν ἅγιον Γεώργιον τὸν Δούβρικαν : There are many problems regarding the identification of this monastery of Saint Georgios the Douvrikas at the place called Melix

(ὁ Μέλιξ, gen. τοῦ Μέλικοσ). Attempts by scholars to identify this toponym are associated with the beginning of the problem of the misidentification of Ioannes Xenos and Ioannes Eremites (see Introduction, pp. 21ff.). Petit, *op. cit.*, 8-9, suggested the identification of the area Melikas with the small villages of Ano and Kato Malaki that are quite near Myriokephala. He identified the church of Saint Georgios Douvrikas with the church of Saint Georgios in Roustika. Leledakis (in note 4 of his study) noticed that Melikas was near the village called Dramia of the Apokoronas county and identified the church of Saint Georgios Douvrikas with the church of Saint Georgios in Dramia. Tomadakis ("Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἡ Διαθήκη αὐτοῦ", 54-56; "Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ Ἐρημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ. 10ος-11ος αἰών. Ἀγιολογικά καὶ Ὑμνολογικά", 19) proposed the identification of the church of Saint Georgios Douvrikas with the church of rotunda type in cape Meleha in the area of Akrotiri in Chania with which he identified the area called Melix (see Introduction, pp. 22ff.). Antourakis, *op. cit.*, 40-43, identified the church of Saint Georgios Douvrikas with the church of Saint Georgios in Dramia of Apokoronas county, which according to local tradition used to be dependent on the monastery of Myriokephala.

The information deriving from the historical sources reveal that the place called Melix was far away from the counties of Rethymnon and Apokoronas. During the early Venetian period a village with this name belonged to the monastery of Paliane (south of the city of Heraklion, called Paracandia in the Venetian documents). In 1248 it is mentioned with other properties of the above monastery as: Τὸ χωριό Melica μὲ καλλ. γῆ 60 ζεύγ. β. χωρὶς νὰ ὑπολογίζονται τὰ βοσκοτόπια καὶ τὰ ποτιστικά χωράφια, ποὺ εἶναι πολλὰ στὸ χωριὸ αὐτό; cf. Z. Tsirpanlis, *Κατάστιχο ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ μοναστηριῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ (1248-1548)*, Ioannina 1985, 38-48, esp. 45. In a document of 1261 the village Melikas is mentioned more precisely: ... cum casale de Messarea, nomine Melica... (Tsirpanlis, *op. cit.*, 180). In addition, Xenos' description of the area fits perfectly with the area of Phaistos. The Italian archaeologist Luigi Pernier working in Phaistos at the beginning of this century describes the area as dry, with no trees, very low hills with water cisterns. The description of Xenos is

similar to this, see Spanakis, *Πόλεις καὶ χωριά τῆς Κρήτης στὸ πέρασμα τῶν αἰώνων*, vol. 1, Heraklion 1991, 67-68.

Psilakis (*op. cit.*, vol 1, 323-325) assumed that the place of Melix can be identified with the village of Hagios Ioannes near Phaistos, a village which is close to the birthplace of Xenos, Siva of Pyrgiotissa. Reference to Hagios Ioannes of Melikas is found in a document of 1394; after the petition of Alexios Kallergis, permission is given to Alexius Xilocherati son of the priest Andreas, inhabitant of the village of St. Ioh(annis) Melicha to be ordained. The village is also mentioned in a scholion to an oracle of Leo the Wise dated 1568 (V. Laourdas, "Κρητικά Παλαιογραφικά", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 2 (1948), 539-545, esp. 540: codex *Oxon. Laud. graecus* 52, f. 83^r, written in 1568 by the scribe Antonios Episkopopoulos from Kydonia and the prophecy seems to have been written because of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus): Οὐαί σοι νῆσος Κρήτης, ὅταν οἱ Ἀγαρηνοὶ ἔλθωσι καὶ κυριεύσωσι καὶ πόλεμος γενήσεται ἀναμέσον Ἰσμαηλιτῶν καὶ Ρωμαίων εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Μέλικοις. So, Melix was at that place where Xenos built his church of Saint George Douvrikas and constructed cisterns for water, which were most probably seen and described by Luigi Pernier, the Italian archaeologist of Phaistos.

Psilakis proposed the identification of Saint Georgios the Douvrikas with the katholikon of the monastery of Flandra which functioned for centuries next to Phaistos (see photo 11). We do not know today what the first church of Xenos looked like since the one preserved is a later building; Psilakis, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 323-326; vol. 2, 180-182.

The epithet Douvrikas has not survived. The word might be related to ὑδρωπίαση i.e. malaria, from which this particular area of Messara suffered up to very recently because of the abundant swamps there. Two elderly persons of the area informed Psilakis orally that the area near Phaistos was called Meliki. This old toponym was forgotten and replaced by "Phaistos" due to the excavations. A similar process occurred at Knossos where the area called "makry toichos" (i.e. long wall) because of the long Minoan wall, always visible, was replaced; cf. Psilakis, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 180-182, esp. 182.

After raising the main monastery of Theotokos the Antiphonetria in Myriocephalon, Xenos built the first *metochion* (dependent

monastic unit) of this monastery near his birthplace. No reference is made to his first church of Saints Eutychios and Eutychianos which is located in the same area. One might wonder if Xenos visited the church when he went back to the place where he took his first monastic steps.

•56. **καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ χαμοβουνίου** : a spoken language phrase containing the vernacular word *χαμοβούνι* (see Chapter 3. 1, pp. 84-85); the first part of this compound word means "low". Xenos uses a "low mountain" to define the area he visited. This was a medieval way of describing things and boundaries; cf. documents of medieval times where trees and stones are used to denote boundaries. It is noteworthy that Xenos uses certain adverbs to make precise reference to the topography and geography of the areas he worked in; see above, ll. 38-39.

•56. **ἀνοικοδόμησα** : The verb *ἀνοικοδομέω* means "build up", "wall up" (Liddell & Scott, s.v.); it also means "rebuild" but here, and probably by this date, it definitely means "build up" since no other ruins are found at this place.

•58. **ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ξηρὸς ἦν ὁ τόπος** : the adverb *πάντοτε* (always) indicates that Xenos knew the area and its characteristics already. Xenos was born in Siva and he also took his first monastic steps there. The use of this particular adverb strengthens the identification of Melix with the area.

•58-59. **καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐπεννοηθεὶς ἐποίησα δεξαμενὴν εἰς τὸ ὑποδέχεσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ** : since the place was very dry and there was a need for water for monastic use (to cover various needs of the monastic foundation, i.e. kitchen use, drinking water, watering the fields and the animals, etc.), Xenos constructed a cistern for water to be collected.

•60. **οἱ κληρονόμοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου** : see entry at line 49. Here it refers to the landowners (heirs) of the place called Melix.

•61. ἀμπέλιν καὶ περιβόλιν : The word περιβόλιν is translated as "garden" but it was actually a vegetable garden. There are numerous references to vineyards and gardens in the *Life*; the monastic foundations of Saint Georgios the Douvrikas in Melix and Saint Patapios in Mousela have one vineyard (ll. 61, 83) and one garden each (ll. 61, 82) (the garden in Mousela is characterised as a "rich" one), the monastic foundation in Koufos has one vineyard (l. 119) as has the main monastery in Myriocephala (l. 89).

The vineyards produced grapes (to be consumed as fresh fruit, raisins and sweets) and wine, for drinking but also for the holy communion. These products were to be used by the monastic foundations of Xenos (transportation would have been easy since the foundations had also animals; see ll. 105-106) but they could also be traded. Since ancient times the island of Crete was famous for its good quality wine. On the excellent quality of wine and honey from Crete attested in sources, see Elisabeth Malamut, *Les îles de l'empire byzantin VIII^e-XIII^e*, Paris 1988, 406-409.

The garden of a monastic establishment would contain various types of vegetables, important for the nutrition of the monks since vegetables constitute their main nutrition. Pulses (lentils, beans etc.) definitely grew in these gardens as well as vegetables that would be consumed fresh or cooked. Additionally, herbs were grown as seed in the gardens for flavouring the food but also for medicinal use. The nutrition of the monks consists also of fish (the two *metochia* in Mousela and Arion were very close to the sea), dairy products (their consumption depends on the fasting days) like cheese, and some meat (to be consumed mainly during periods of feast, e.g. Easter and Christmas) that would be provided by the sheep and goats that the monasteries acquired (see l. 105).

Monastic gardens contained also various types of trees. In Xenos' *Life* there are special references when the gardens he created contained trees; (ll. 82, 87, 89, 70); the monastic foundation of Saint Georgios Opsaropiastes had some small trees (l. 70) that were presented to Xenos by the villagers of the area; the garden of the *metochion* in Mousela had trees planted by Xenos himself (l. 82). In the main monastery in Myriocephala Xenos also planted trees "of all kinds" (ll. 87, 89) as well as wintry plants; these wintry plants could have been trees that bear fruit during winter time. These

trees would have been olive trees (olives and olive oil), almond trees and fig trees (fresh and dried fruits and nuts), and other fruit trees like orange trees. On the gardens and vineyards, see Malamut, *Les îles de l' empire byzantin*, Paris 1988, 385-387 and 405-409; Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle*, 63-65 and 69-79.

•61. ὕπεργον : in the manuscript ὕπαργον which is incorrect but was kept by Tomadakis while Delehayé changed it to the correct form ὕπεργον.

•61. ζευγαρίων τεσσάρων : *zeugarion* means the "yoke of oxen". The term also applies to a unit of measurement which is equivalent to the quantity of land that could be cultivated by a pair of oxen. In the *Life of Xenos* the term is used as a unit of measuring land in ll. 61 (γῆν ὕπεργον ζευγαρίων τεσσάρων), 70 (χωραφίτζιν ζευγαρίων δύο) and l. 77 (συνεστησάμην ζευγάρια ἑξ). On the term *zeugarion*, see Erich Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie*, Munich 1970, 67-70.

•62. εὐχριστος : the editors changed it to εὐχρηστος, which is also correct. However, in l. 66 the word εὐχρηστος ("of good quality") appears. It looks as though the scribe thought of Christ when he was writing about a man, and wrote εὐχριστος (pious). When he was writing about a place he thought of the use of this place and wrote εὐχρηστος.

•63. συνεργείας : Delehayé kept the spelling given in the manuscript while Tomadakis changed it to συνεργίας which seems unnecessary. Both versions are correct but the one closer to the manuscript has been kept in the present edition.

•64. τοῦτον ἱερέαν ἀπεκατέστησα : the word ἱερέαν has been kept in the present edition as in the manuscript, while previous editors changed it to the correct 3rd declension ἱερέα. On the interplay between declensions, see Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, p. 82.

On the establishing of monks and priests by Xenos, cf. entry at lines 54-55.

•65. ἀνηχώρησα : previous editors changed it to ἀνεχώρησα; cf. also ll. 72 and 121. For the different types of augment used in this text, see Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, pp. 80-81.

•66. *Ἀριον :

Arion appears as the name of a bishopric in *Notitia* 10 (10th-11th century) and in both recensiones of *Notitia* 13 (12th century); in the former *Notitia* it appears as Agrion (ὁ τοῦ Ἀγρίου) (see table 1). This is probably not the correct form; the Venetians had called it Ariensis since 1223; cf. Xanthoudides, "Ἐπαρχίαι καὶ πόλεις Κρήτης", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 3 (1926), 35-66, esp. 50.

After 961 new names of bishoprics replace old ones. Arion appears to replace Sybrita and Kalamon appears to replace Lappa/Lampe. However, there is also the case where both old and new appear in the same period (e.g. Kalamon and Lampe appear in the different recensiones of *Notitia* 13, dated to the 12th century); the name Sybrita appears in the 12th-13th century *Synodikon* of Sybrita (on this document, see Chapter 2, p. 61, note 4) while Arion appears in its place in recensio M of *Notitia* 13 (dated to the same century as the *Synodikon*) (see table 1). Regarding the names of these bishoprics and their interchange in sources, it would be ideal if there was a reference somewhere saying Συβρίτου ἦτοι Ἀρίου or Λάμπης ἦτοι Καλαμώνος, as *Notitia* 13 attests ὁ Ἐλευθέρας ἦτοι Μυλοποτάμου.

The renaming and redefinition of the geographical extent of the bishoprics has detained many scholars and it will until new sources can help in defining a new more persuasive theory. It may have been due to shifts of population, desertion of some areas and prosperity of others due to commerce or agriculture.

The *Life* records that Xenos "arrived at another place, the so-called Arion" (κατέλαβα ἕτερον τόπον τὸν λεγόμενον Ἀριον); the wider area of the bishopric is meant here; on the use of the names of bishoprics by Xenos, see Chapter 2, p. 62.

•66. τόπος καλὸς καὶ εὖχρηστος : τόπος καλὸς καὶ εὖχρηστος : here εὖχρηστος means of good quality, bearing good results; it is written with an η from the verb χρήομαι-ῶμαι ; cf. l. 62 (εὖχριστος).

•66-67. πλησίον τοῦ χωρίου τῆς Πηγῆς :

The adverb πλησίον denotes that the area of Arion was close to the village called Pege. Pege is a village of the county and prefecture of Rethymnon, situated east of the town of Rethymnon, still extant today.

The term *chorion* (found also in ll. 16, 39, 67, 78, 118) denotes the "village", an economic and fiscal rural unit with legally defined borders. In the *Life* it is used for the rural settlements. On the term *chorion* and the agrarian legislation regarding it, see Paul Lemerle, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the origins to the twelfth century*, Galway 1979, 41-48.

•67. Αἰτήσας τοὺς οἰκήτορας τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωρίου : Xenos asked the help of the inhabitants of the village of Pege.

•67. ἀνήγειραν : the previous editors changed it to ἀνήγειρα considering as its subject ἐγώ, i.e. Xenos. The plural form has been kept in the present edition since οἰκήτορες is its subject.

•68. ναὸν τὸν λεγόμενον ἅγιον Γεώργιον τὸν Ὁψαροπιάστην :

Different theories have been put forward regarding the identification of this church. Leledakis (note 6 of his study) identifies this church with the cemetery church of the village Pege that still exists today. He also presents a local tradition on the word Opsaropiastes (= the fish catcher): when the church was being built, the workers experienced a problem caused by the lack of food. Xenos sent the fishermen of the village fishing and so much fish was caught, that it was believed to be a miracle. Chatzigakis refers to the same tradition (Al. K. Chatzigakis, *Ἐκκλησίες τῆς Κρήτης. Παραδόσεις*, Rethymnon 1954, 35). Antourakis proposes the identification of the church with the one of Saint Dimitrios in the village of Saint Dimitrios near Pege (Antourakis, *op. cit.*, 44-45). Andrianakis, ("Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐρημίτης καὶ ἡ μονὴ τοῦ Γδερνέτου", 14-53, esp. 36, n. 61, 47) suggests the identification of the church with the church of Theotokos in the village Kyrianna. Later 16th century additions to the church structure obscure the "free-cross" domed phase of the monument. The name of the village Kyrianna must have been created after the popular name of Ioannes Xenos,

kyr-Yiannis (Κυρ Γιάννης > Κυργιαννά > Κυργιάννα); see Andrianakis, *op. cit.*, 47, n. 117. Spanakis, *Πόλεις καὶ χωριά τῆς Κρήτης*, vol. 2, 450, refers to various census (lists) from the early Venetian to the late Turkish period, where the name survives as Chiriana, Chirianna. In a notarial act of 1301 the settlement Chyriane et Peraneme(=Panormo) is the subject of a feud between brothers Iohannes et Nicolao Burgondione. If the village Kyrianna got its name from Xenos' popular name, it seems that Adrianakis' suggestion is correct; it seems natural for the village to have taken Xenos' name especially if a church built by him was located in its area.

However, it is difficult to arrive at a safe conclusion about the identification of this church. The reference of Xenos to the help he received from the inhabitants of the village of Pege is not decisive since all the churches with which Saint Georgios Opsaropiastes might be identified were in the area around the village of Pege. Thus, no certain conclusion may be derived. Further archaeological investigation might help.

•69. οἱ δηλωθέντες χωρίται : the aforementioned villagers, i.e. the inhabitants of the village stated in line 67. The previous editors corrected the mistaken form δηλωθέν given in the manuscript.

•70. χωραφίτζιν ζευγαρίων δύο καὶ δενδρούτζικα ὀλιγοστά :

The word χωραφίτζιν has been translated as arable land although its ending denotes the diminutive (see Chapter 2, p. 84); cf. l. 120. The quantities of donations and properties mentioned in the *Life* were not large compared to donations and monastic properties at a later period (cf. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete*, 247; cf. also the properties of the monastery of Patmos on Crete; for an example see Era Vranoussi, ed., *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου. Α' Αὐτοκρατορικά*, Athens 1980, 208-211). This disproportion has to do with the period. After 961 small but numerous donations made to Xenos and his foundations are the response of the indigenous population, but they are not at the level later attested.

•71. ἀποκείρας τὸν μοναχὸν Εὐτύχιον ἱερέαν : On the establishing of monks by Xenos, cf. entry at lines 54-55.

The type ἱερέαν has been kept in the present edition as in the manuscript while Tomadakis changed it to the correct 3rd declension ἱερέα. On the interplay between declensions, see Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, p. 82.

•72. ἀνηχώρησα : kept as in the manuscript while both editors changed it to ἀνεχώρησα. cf. also ll. 65 and 121. For the different types of augment used in the text, see Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, pp. 80-81.

•74. ἀνηπέστρεψα : both editors changed it to ἀνυπέστρεψα as they did not realise that η was the augment instead of ε; they thought that the preposition ὑπὸ was used in this compound word. For the use and types of the augment, see Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, pp. 80-81. In the verb ἀνηπέστρεψα the preposition αν- means "up" denoting the high mountainous area of the monastery and Xenos' route at this point of his journey. So it is translated as " ... I went back up to the monastery of ... "; cf. entry on ll. 38-39.

•75. κατέλιπον : the editors corrected the manuscript's reading κατέλοιπεν (3rd person singular; leg. κατέλιπεν) to κατέλιπον (1st person singular) since ἐγώ is the subject, i.e. Xenos.

•76-77. ἐξῆλθον πρὸς τοὺς φιλοχρίστους καὶ ἐνδεῆς γεγονὼς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολήν : as in ll. 47-48 Xenos asks the help of *philochristoi*. He also refers to the command of Christ as in line 116 (τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολήν). In the New Testament and the Fathers' writings there are numerous references to the commands of Christ, and each is relevant to the context in which it is placed. In this case the command of Christ Xenos refers to may be Luke 11. 9-10 "Ask and you shall receive".

•76. τοὺς φιλοχρίστους : for the *philochristoi*, see entry at line 48; the *philochristoi* of the area of Myriokephalon help Xenos once again in his activities (cf. ll. 48 and 52).

•78. τὸ χωρίον τὴν Μουσέλαν : a village with this name does not exist today; Mouselas is the name of a small river that divides the two

prefectures of Chania and Rethymnon. The village recorded in Xenos' *Life* would have been located at this same site. Tomadakis agreed with Petit's identification of Mousela with today's village Dramia where there is a church of Saint Georgios; cf. Petit, *op. cit.*, 11-12 and Tomadakis, " 'Ο ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ Ἐρημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ. 10ος-11ος αἰών. Ἀγιολογικά καὶ Ὑμνολογικά", 19-20. Tradition says that in this village there was a metochion of the monastery of Myriocephalon. This is not testified in written sources and can be considered as an additional element of Xenos' popularity. Every village wanted a monastic foundation built by Xenos and every community wanted a connection, no matter how slight, with that local Saint.

•78. **τόπον καλόν** : Xenos states that he found a good, fine place. This place would have been suitable for Xenos' plans since it was next to a river and thus it would have been very fertile.

•79. **ἀπὸ τοὺς ἰδίους κληρονόμους, τοὺς Μεσοσταβλίτας** : for the term κληρονόμοι, see entry at line 49. The name Mesostavlites remains unidentified. As given in the text, it is not clear if it is a place name or a name of the people living there. Malamut, *op. cit.*, 252, refers to this name as the noble locals and landowners of the area. However, the popular version of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* as preserved in *Cisamensis*, refers to Mesostavlites as being a place name (ll. 76-77. ἀγόρασεν ἀπὸ τοὺς κληρονόμους τὸν τόπον ὀνόματι Μεσοσταβλίτες μερίδια δύο). This name may have been used in the 18th-19th centuries when *Cisamensis* was produced but today this name is not attested anymore.

•80. **ἐδωρήσαντο** : Xenos either buys land (cf. line 78. ἐξωνησάμην) or people donate pieces of land to him.

•81. **ἀνήγειρα ἐκεῖσε εἰς μετόχιον τὸν ἅγιον Πατάπιον** : Although it seems that the *metochion* of Saint Patapios was one of the largest and most important of the monastery of Myriocephalon, nothing of it has been preserved. It was completely destroyed and never inhabited again, and no information about this monastic foundation is found in subsequent sources. Petit suggested that the *metochion*

of Saint Patapios was located to the west of the Mouselas river. Tomadakis accepted this identification; cf. Petit, *op. cit.*, 11-12 and Tomadakis, " 'Ο ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ Ἐρημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ. 10ος-11ος αἰών. Ἀγιολογικά καὶ Ὑμνολογικά", 19-20. Antourakis however, believes it was very close to its river-bank (*op. cit.*, pp. 44-45). Andrianakis suggests that the monastery of Saint Patapios should be identified with a ruined building found next to the Mouselas river on the border of the prefectures of Rethymnon and Chania. Very few remains can be found today because of field ploughing; cf. Andrianakis, "Ο Ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ Ἐρημίτης καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Ἀλικιανου", *Ελλωτία* 1 (1992), 180-193, esp. 185.

The dedication to Saint Patapios, an anchorite from Egypt (4th-5th century), might imply a connection between Crete and Egypt and a cult not documented in other sources.

•82. ἐποίησα περιβόλιν πολυτελές· δένδρα ἐν αὐτῷ κατεφύτευσα : the manuscript gives πολυτελῇ which Tomadakis changed to πολυειδῇ considering it as an adjective to the following word δένδρα; he also added <καὶ> before πολυειδῇ (... περιβόλιν <καὶ> πολυειδῇ δένδρα ...). This proposition by Tomadakis is not very effective since the word παντοῖα which is used further down in the text (l. 87) has the same meaning as the word proposed by Tomadakis (of various kinds); so, if the author of the *Life* wanted to say "of various kinds", he would have used παντοῖα. A look at the manuscript testifies that Tomadakis did not pay proper attention to the manuscript's punctuation and also to the language in which the text was written. An upper point is placed after πολυτελῇ. Moreover, in line 40 the 3rd declension adjective παμμέγεθες is incorrectly given as παμμεγεθῇ; similarly πολυτελῇ is given instead of πολυτελές . Thus, ... περιβόλιν πολυτελές· δένδρα... . For the 3rd declension adjectives in the text, see Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, p. 82.

The reference to this rich garden might denote the variety of vegetables found in this garden. Special reference is made to the trees planted in this garden. These trees could have been olive trees (olives and olive oil), almond trees (dried nuts), fig trees (fresh and dried fruits) etc.; cf. above.

•83. κατεφύτευσα καὶ ἀμπέλιν μοδίων δώδεκα :

Modios (μόδιος) is a unit of measurement for both grain and land. Its size varied at different times but roughly corresponded to ca. one *stremma*, i.e. 1,000 m²; cf. Erich Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie*, Munich 1970, 56-59, 72ff., 95-108.

It seems that the monastic foundation of Saint Patapios which was a *metochion* (dependent monastic unit) of the main monastery in Myriocephalon, was the largest foundation organised by Xenos. Its property consisted of a vegetable garden described as "rich" (πολυτελής) by Xenos probably because it contained vegetables of various kinds (l. 82); trees (l. 82); a vineyard of twelve *modioi* (l. 83) which is of medium size (even if compared to today's vineyards). It has been calculated that the yield of a vineyard of two *modioi* gave a total of 820 litres of wine per year (Kaplan, "L' économie paysanne dans l' empire byzantin du Ve au XIe siècle", *Klio* 68 (1986), 198-232, esp. 211). Xenos also "constructed buildings with roof-tiles for the monks to have their rest" (ll. 84-85).

•83-84. ἔκτισα καὶ οἰκήματα κεραμόστεγα εἰς τὸ ἔχειν τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν οἱ μοναχοί : the area where Saint Patapios was situated is one of the most fertile areas of Crete due to the frequent rains during the winter. Thus, the climate of the area might have been the reason for the use of roof-tiles in this monastic foundation of Xenos. The use of roof-tiles denote a sloping roof which is more complicated to build than a flat one; an indirect reference to a special construction technique and to expense can be detected in this phrase. These buildings could have been destined for guests either coming from the monastic foundations of Xenos or laymen.

•84. ἐξ αὐτῶν : although this phrase follows the reference to the buildings Xenos constructed, it refers to the garden, the trees and the vineyard; the word order is disturbed as in ll. 40-41 (where κτίσμα ἑλληνικὸν παμμέγεθες is placed in the middle of the phrase ἄνω τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ λεγομένου Μυριοκεφάλου). In these two cases the disturbance reflects a certain orality of the text and can be considered as arguments in support of the dictation of the text.

•84. ἐφήμερον : the manuscript's reading is ἄφήμερον (sic) which was corrected by both previous editors.

•85. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν φιλοχρίστων : the manuscript gives τὸ φιλοχρίστον; Delehayé read it as φιλόχριστον and he also added <πλήθος> (τὸ φιλόχριστον <πλήθος>); Tomadakis followed his suggestion. However, the accent on the word as it is given in the manuscript is the accent of the genitive plural; thus, it has been corrected to τῶν φιλοχρίστων in the present edition.

The *philochristoi* here provided Xenos with one hundred and fifty beehives which is a large number of beehives, see below.

•85-86. μελίσσια ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα : The word "μελίσσια" means the beehives and not the bees as single insects. Apiculture is very important for monastic foundations since it produces wax for the church's candles and light and also honey which can be eaten and also used as preservative like salt; it is also used for making wine. Crete was very famous for its honey from ancient times. It was generally easy to set up beehives and was a common practice and activity in the island; cf. Alan Harvey, *Economic expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900-1200*, Cambridge 1989, 157-158; Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 38; cf. entry on line 61 for wine and honey from Crete. The beehives are usually placed away from inhabited areas and are not placed by the sea (see also l. 124 where Xenos refers to the organisation of an apiary in the village Azogyreas where he built the church of Saint Georgios). Thus, the beehives Xenos collected from the *philochristoi* of the area should have been placed somewhere between the *metochion* of Saint Patapios and the main monastery in Myriokephala where Xenos went immediately afterwards (the adverb ἐπάνω [up] in line 88 denotes that Xenos went to Myriokephala which is at a higher level compared to Saint Patapios, after establishing and organising the *metochion*). The toponym Kyrianon should be located somewhere between these two. See below.

•86. εἰς τὸ Κυριανόν, ἔνθα καὶ ἦν εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν τῆς μονῆς : the manuscript gives κηριανῶ while both editors give κηριανόν, which is correct since the preposition εἰς takes the accusative. The toponym

is not attested in our days. In both Tomadakis' editions there is a reference to a reading by Leledakis who proposed 'Ἀσκυργιανόν. Tomadakis questioned if it is the village Kyrianna; but the identification of this toponym with the village Kyrianna is not possible for two reasons: 1. as the steps of Xenos are recorded in this passage, Kyrianon should be placed somewhere between Saint Patapios and Myriokephala which are both far away from the village of Kyrianna; and 2. if Andrianakis' theory is correct and the name Kyrianna derives from Xenos' popular name (see above), it is impossible for a toponym based on Xenos' name to have been established while Xenos was still alive and also for Xenos to use it himself in his *Life*. Thus, this toponym cannot be identified with Kyrianna; it must be something else. Leledakis who was the bishop of the area at the beginning of the century, might have heard of such a toponym that does not exist any more. Moreover, the name he suggests seems to be close to the type found in the manuscript; the prefix 'Ἀσ- of 'Ἀσκυργιανόν might derive from the preposition εἰς (εἰς + κυργιανόν= 'Ἀσκυργιανόν), and the presence of *gamma* in 'Ἀσκυργιανόν as proposed by Leledakis is not strange or inexplicable since this intrusive consonant is an indicative Cretan characteristic (see Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek. A History of the Language and its Speakers*, London-New York 1997, 290). Thus, it seems quite probable that Leledakis' suggestion has a serious basis. The reading in the present edition is based on Leledakis' suggestion.

To sum up. The area called Kyrianon belonged to the area of the monastery as this is clear in the *Life* (ἐνθα καὶ ἦν εἰς τὴν περιοχὴν τῆς μονῆς). This area should be placed somewhere between the *metochion* of Saint Patapios and the main monastery in Myriokephala (see map).

•87. ἐν αὐτῇ : the monastery in Myriokephala (τὴν μονήν).

•88. κλήματα χειμέρια : κλήματα is given erroneously in the manuscript as κλήμα but has been corrected by the previous editors. Xenos refers to wintry plants that he also planted in the main monastery, meaning evergreens.

•88-89. **ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν μονὴν** : "up in the monastery": such phrases denote the topography of the area and the route followed by Xenos between Patapios and Kyrianon and the monastery of the Mother of God in Myriokephala which is at a higher level.

It is a very vivid narration of Xenos' journey and all this information regarding topography (such as adverbs and prepositions in compound verbs) help to relate the topography of the places where Xenos was active.

•89. **ἀμπέλι** : this form is given in the manuscript, although misspelt (ἀμπέλη), and also kept in the present edition. The previous editors changed it to ἀμπέλιν which appears in ll. 61, 83 and 119 of the text. However, both types (with and without the final -v) are indicative of the spoken language of the middle and later Byzantine period; cf. Chapter 3. 1, vocabulary section, p. 84.

•88-89. **Καὶ οὕτως ἐκατεφύτευσα ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν μονὴν ἀμπέλι καὶ δένδρα παντοῖα καὶ εἰς παράδεισον ἀπεκατέστησα** : the notion of paradise that is noted here, is a usual reference; cf. Septuaginta, Ec. 2.4.1 to 2.6.12.4 (ὠκοδόμησά μοι οἴκους, ἐφύτευσά μοι ἀμπελῶνας, ἐποίησά μοι κήπους καὶ παραδείσους καὶ ἐφύτευσά ἐν αὐτοῖς ξύλον πᾶν καρποῦ· ἐποίησά μοι κολυμβήθρας ὑδάτων). References to a garden that looks like a paradise can also be found in *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke*: 55. 5-7 (φιλοκαλῶν καὶ καθαίρων καὶ παντοῖα φυτεύων φυτά, παράδεισον οἷον ἀπέδειξεν ὠραιότατον, οὐ γεύσει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς χαριζόμενον); and 41. 6-7. reference to a variety from his vegetable garden (λάχανα τοῦ πονηθέντος αὐτῷ παραδείσου πολυειδῆ).

This phrase illustrates the role of monasticism in developing under-cultivated land. Especially after the Arab occupation, emperors patronised monasticism so that land would be cultivated; cf. Chapter 2. With the growth of monastic establishments, expansion occurred; more people were needed to cultivate and take care of the fields and simultaneously more fields were needed to support the population; cf. Morris, *Monks and laymen in Byzantium*, chapter 8 (Territorial expansion and spiritual compromise), esp. 202.

•90. **εἰς τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς** : this plural might denote the imperial authorities in general but since this plural is found in two

additional phrases in the text (l. 92. ψυχικῆς αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας; and l. 133. βασιλεῖς), one might wonder if this implies a joint reign. The reference of Alexios the Studite as Patriarch (see below) confines the period of Xenos' journey to Constantinople between the years 1025 and 1043. After the death of Constantine VIII (1028) his daughter Zoe married Romanos III Argyropoulos who became emperor (1028-1034). Michael IV followed (1034-1041). During this period there are two brief joint reigns, that of Zoe and Michael V (1041-1042) and that of Zoe and Theodora (20 April-11 June 1042) (cf. Michael F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300-1450*, Cambridge 1985, 509). The fact that Xenos does not identify the emperor causes the problem: the addition of Romanos Argyropoulos in the popular version fills this gap. It is difficult to know if the use of plural refers to one of the two joint reigns (in the years 1041-1042), which would date Xenos' journey towards the end of Alexios' patriarchate, or if the general use of imperial authorities is implied by the plural term.

•91. χρυσοβούλλου : given erroneously in the manuscript as χρυσοβόλου and corrected by the editors. The chrysobull, the document bearing the emperor's gold bulla and containing the privileges Xenos acquired for his monastic foundations, has not survived.

•92. λόγου : in the present edition the genitive form is kept as given in the manuscript, while the dative would be expected. Tomadakis changed it to the dative in his edition (λόγω). For the use of the dative and its replacement by genitive and accusative forms, a characteristic indicative of the later Byzantine period, see Chapter 3. 1, syntax section, pp. 75-76.

•92. λόγου ψυχικῆς αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας : the manuscript gives σωτηρία which was corrected by the editors to σωτηρίας, leg. ψυχικῆς αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας (for the salvation of their souls, i.e. the emperors' souls). The emperors give the chrysobull and the privileges for the salvation of their souls; a *topos* common to all monastic foundation documents that contain references to privileges given to the monastic foundations by the imperial authorities.

For the plural αὐτοῖς see above, entry at l. 90.

•92. ἀπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου νομίσματα λίτραν μίαν : *demosion* is the state treasury.

Nomisma is the gold coin (also called *solidus*). Nikephoros Phokas introduced into circulation a light-weight gold coin called the *nomisma tetarteron*; this *nomisma* was lighter than the traditional standard *nomisma* (now termed *nomisma histamenon* in opposition to the *tetarteron*); for the coins used at the beginning of the 11th century, see: Ph. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins*, London 1982, 344; cf. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*, 507.

The term λίτρα designates a unit of weight of various types. The most important Byzantine measure of weight was the *logarike litra* ("pound of calculation"), normally simply called *litra*. One *logarike litra* of gold was equal to 72 *solidi*, i.e. gold coins; cf. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie*, 166ff.

Thus, the amount of money Xenos acquired for his monastic establishments was 72 gold coins annually paid from the state treasury. In fact the method of payment was probably by deducting one pound of gold from the local taxes and presenting it to Xenos' monastic foundations before the rest of the sum was sent to Constantinople.

•93. ῥάσα δώδεκα : these twelve gowns (cassocks) were destined for the twelve monks of the monastery of the Mother of God in Myriocephala (cf. l. 90).

According to Sophocles (s.v.) the word ῥάσον (τό) derives from the latin *rasus* (this etymology is questioned by Lampe, s.v.) and it denotes the kind of napless woolen cloth, the garment made of this cloth, and in particular a monk's outer garment usually made of black ῥάσον.

The ῥάσον is a full-length black or dark-coloured garment with long sleeves and constitutes the basic piece of clothing worn by monks. The poor quality and the dark colour of this particular vestment were in opposition to the good and sometimes luxurious quality and appearance of the clothes of the laymen, and the term is found in many Byzantine authors from the 9th century; for the history and

the development of the ῥάσον, see Pan. S. Papaeuaggelou, "Ῥάσον", *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἡθική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 10, 773-774.

•93. **μανδία δώδεκα** : these twelve mantles (cloaks) were also destined for the monks in Myriokephala.

In the *Life of Xenos* the neuter form μανδίων (τό), also found as ὁ μανδύας, ὁ μανδύης, ἡ μανδύα, ἡ μανδύη, τὸ μανδύον, τὸ μαντίον, τὸ μανδι(ν), τὸ μαντί, derives from the latin *mantum* meaning the monastic garment (mantle, cloak), the imperial mantle and also a woman's long dress; see Kriaras, s.v..

The μανδίων is the long, dark, plain cloak worn over the main monastic garment, the ῥάσον; hanging from the shoulders, it opens in front and stretches down to the knees while it is fastened at the neck and below the waist by drawstrings. It is worn by the monks and clergy to celebrate the liturgy; it might also be more elaborate, with embroidered panels at its four corners from which spread rays called *potamoi* (rivers); for the symbolism of these rays, see Symeon of Thessaloniki, *PG* 155, 712; for the embroidery on monastic garments, see Pauline Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery*, London 1967, 15 (for *mandyas*).

The distribution of clothes to the monks is regulated through many *typika* (monastic foundation documents); for example according to the *typikon* of the emperor Ioannes II Komnenos for the monastery of Christ Pantokrator at Constantinople (1136) a new *mandyas* was distributed to the monks every two years (P. Gautier, "Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 32 [1974], 1-145, esp. 65. 610).

For more information on the μανδίων, see Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, vol. 6, Athens 1957, 102 on monks' clothes, and 289-290 on the general use of the word either in a monastic or in an imperial and secular context; for its provenance, development and use, see P. Bernardakis, "Les ornements liturgiques chez les grecs", *Échos d' Orient* 5 (1901-02), 129-39, esp. 136; Spyr. G. Makris, "Μανδύας", *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἡθική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 8, 554-5; K. Kourkoulas, *Τὰ ἱερατικὰ ἄμφια καὶ ὁ συμβολισμὸς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ὀρθοδόξῳ Ἑλληνικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ*, Athens 1991, esp. 73-4.

•93. **βλαττίν ένδυτήν** : a purple cloth to be used as an altar cloth; In the text the two nouns βλαττίν and ένδυτήν are in apposition; the second noun, ένδυτήν, functions as a predicate of the object βλαττίν. This purple altar cloth of luxurious quality was destined for the Holy Altar of the Mother of God, the Antiphonetria in Myriokephala. Through this chrysobull Xenos secured annual gifts of money and clothing for his chief monastic foundation.

ένδυτός as an adjective means "put on, spread over"; as a noun in its neuter form it means garment, dress; the feminine of that same adjective as a noun, ή ένδυτή as it is found in the present text, means dress, garment, cover of the Holy Altar, altar cloth.

It is a cloth that covers the top and all four sides of the altar. It always has been and still is of rich material, decorated in some way, embroidered or woven. References to ένδυταί often occur in *typika*, e.g. the *typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos for the monastery of Theotokos tes Petritziotisses at Bachkovo (1083), (P. Gautier, "Le Typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 42 [1984], 5-145, esp. 123. 1730-1733), and inventories of monastic foundations, since they were a favourite offering of church benefactors. In *De Cerimoniis* the emperors appear to kiss or change these altar cloths (see sources nos. 18-24 in Speck's main study, see below). Although some *endytai* have only geometrical ornament (as the ones appearing in miniatures in the *Menologion* of Basil II [976-1025]), there are references to more elaborate ones. The Iconoclastic Council of 754 (Mansi 13: 332B) declared that figure-bearing cloths might not be destroyed but could be altered with the permission of the patriarch and the emperor. On the decoration of *endytai*, see Pauline Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery*, London 1967, 23-24; on the meaning of these cloths and their significance, see Symeon of Thessaloniki, *PG* 155, 313D-316A and 316D-317B; cf. G. A. Soteriou, "Τὰ λειτουργικά ἄμφια τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησίας" *Θεολογία* 20 (1949), 603-14; see also the main studies on *endyte* by Paul Speck, "Die Ἑνδυτή. Literarische Quellen zur Bekleidung des Altars in der byzantinischen Kirche", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 15 (1966), 323-375; see also idem, "Nochmals: Die Ἑνδυτή", *Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά* 6 (1987), 331-337. Speck

cites the sources referring to ἐνδυτή and discusses its use. He also refers to the materials used for an endyte, e.g. silk cloth with coloured or even gold thread, pearls, precious stones.

The noun βλαττίν (τό) is the object of the infinitive λαμβάνειν, and it takes as its predicate the noun ἐνδυτήν. It is erroneously written in the manuscript as βλατήν while Delehayé correctly changed it to βλαττίν. Tomadakis got it wrong in both his editions (βλατήν in the first and βλαττήν in the second) as there is no recorded feminine gender of the word. Tomadakis was probably misled by the feminine noun βλάττα (ή) which derives from the latin *blatta* meaning purple. The word exists mainly in the neuter form (τὸ βλαττί(ν) and also τὸ βλαττίον, τὸ βλαντί(ν), τὸ βλαντίον) meaning a luxurious cloth or dress which was purple and made of silk (see Kriaras,s.v.); cf. Speck, *op. cit.*, 335-6, 344-5, 368-9.

Blatta was the name for the natural dye coming from the sea-shell (murex); the Byzantines called the cloth which was dyed by this natural dye βλαττίον (see Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, 2.2, 39 and notes for sources).

•93-100. καὶ τοῦ εἶναι ταύτην ...: this passage refers to the privileges Xenos got for his monastic foundations from the patriarchal authorities of Constantinople, apart from the chrysobull acquired from the emperor. This patriarchal document from the Patriarch Alexios which is now lost, contained the clause securing the independence of the main monastery of Xenos and all his other monastic foundations which were dependent on the main monastery. It is noteworthy that Xenos does not refer to this document by its name (γράμμα σιγγιλιῶδες) which can be explained by the circumstances of the text's dictation and the hurry under which the text was composed; cf. V. Grumel, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, vol. I. Les actes des Patriarches, Fasc. II. Les regestes de 715 à 1043*, Paris 1936, 252-253, no. 837.

•95. ἔχειν : the manuscript gives the participle ἔχων. Delehayé kept it but Tomadakis changed it to the infinitive, a correct change since it carries as its subject the accusatives τὸν κατὰ χώραν μητροπολίτην ἢ τινα τῶν ἐπισκόπων, and it is also connected to other infinitives in this

phrase (i.e. τοῦ λαμβάνειν and τοῦ εἶναι). For the extensive use of participles, see Chapter 3. 1, syntax section, p. 74.

•96. τὰ δίκαια τῆς μονῆς ἣ εἰς ᾧ προσεκτεσάμην : Xenos refers to all these rights that his monastery was eligible for, like its independence. Moreover, the phrase εἰς ᾧ προσεκτεσάμην means the possessions he had acquired for the monastic foundations, land, buildings, etc; and after mentioning these he goes on with the books and the holy icons.

•97. <αῖς> : Tomadakis made the addition of <αῖς>, while Delehayé just added a semi-colon at this point; however, the manuscript does not bear any signs of punctuation. The phrase (κατεκόσμησα κελλία ὡς εἴρηται) which follows the addition by Tomadakis, acts as a subordinate clause and thus needs a conjunction (a typical example of the *asyndeton* which is a syntactical feature of the text).

•97. ὡς εἴρηται : as has been said. Xenos refers to the decoration of his monastic foundations with the icons and the books. However, this has not been previously reported in the text. This is another phrase reflecting the oral basis of the text.

•97-98. ἐπιζητεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῶν : αὐτῶν refers to τὰ δίκαια τῆς μονῆς ἣ εἰς ᾧ προσεκτεσάμην.

•98. σύνηθές τι : the manuscript gives σύνηθες τινα which was corrected by Delehayé but not by Tomadakis, who kept σύνηθές τινα in his edition.

•98. κανίσχιον : given in the manuscript as κανίσχυον (mispelt) and corrected by Delehayé into κανίσκιον . The word is κανίσκιον and also κανίσχιον, especially in works of Cretan literature (Kriaras, s.v.).

Kaniskion (κανίσκιον) is the small basket; the term was also used for a donation mainly to ecclesiastical authorities or monastic institutions presented usually at feastdays like Christmas and Easter days. This donation was either in the form of goods (a loaf of bread, wine, barley) or later in the 13th century in the form of money.

In Xenos' case the *kaniskion* should be identified with the donation of goods from Xenos' monastic foundations to the ecclesiastical authorities of the area as these are named in ll. 95-96 (τὸν κατὰ χώραν μητροπολίτην ἢ τινα τῶν ἐπισκόπων).

•99. πάντα : i.e. the main monastery and the other foundations.

•100-101. μόνην τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ' Ἀλεξίου καὶ οὕτως τοὺς καθεξῆς :

After the reference to the acquisition of the chrysobull and also to the right of the monastic foundations of Xenos to be independent (αὐτοδέσποτα) and exempt from any interference by lay or ecclesiastical officials, Xenos mentions that Patriarch Alexios reserved to himself and his successors a liturgical commemoration (*anaphora*). *Anaphora*, meaning reference, is a term designating the prayer accompanying the eucharistic offering; according to this prayer, the monastery is obliged to thank and pray for the patriarch; it is actually a liturgical commemoration of the patriarch, Alexios Stoudites, Patriarch of Constantinople (1025-1043). Alexios tried to protect the independence of clergy by deciding that no clergyman or monk could be judged by a civil authority, and he also condemned the practice of *charistikion*. cf. V. Grumel, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, nos. 829-855 (no. 837, for the document for Xenos foundations).

As there is no reference to the emperor Xenos visited in Constantinople, the reference to Patriarch Alexios is the only secure element to date the text.

•102-103. ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοχρίστων ἐκεῖσε : Tomadakis erroneously proposed ἀπὸ τῶν in his second edition. For this use of preposition ὑπό, see Chapter 3. 1, syntax section, p. 76.

For the *philochristoi*, see entry on line 48; the adjective ἐκεῖσε (there) denotes that these *philochristoi* are anonymous Christians of Constantinople, who donated sacred vessels, books and holy icons to Xenos while he was in Constantinople for the acquisition of the chrysobull. Once Xenos' monastic activities were made known to the Christians of the capital city, they donated goods that could be

easily transferred to the island of Crete, and Xenos thus equipped the monastery of the Mother of God in Myriokephala.

•103. **ἱερὰ σκεύη, βιβλία, ἁγίας εἰκόνας** : kept as in the manuscript. Delehayé changed these nouns to the genitive to agree with μεθ' ὧν of line 102 found above.

•103. **τὴν μονὴν ἣν ὁρᾶτε** : This phrase might indicate that Xenos was showing the monastery of Myriokephala to his disciples while he was recording his life and final will and explaining the kind of property he had acquired. The use of the demonstrative pronoun τοιαύτη (ll. 52, 55; see above) strengthens the possibility of Xenos being at the site of Myriokephala when recording the *Life*. After withdrawing for some time to Akti for *eremia* and *hesychia* and probably after falling ill, Xenos would have returned to his main monastery. He needed his disciples to take care of him, he was willing to record his final will and give his last advice and guidelines for the future disposition of his foundations. Thus, he returned to Myriokephala to end his life there; cf. Chapter 3. 2, p. 90.

•104. **καὶ οὕτως τὰ πάντα** : at this point Xenos resumes all the property donated to him and his foundations by the *philochristoi*, the bishops and the archons. In the next ten lines Xenos refers to the monastery of Myriokephala (the main monastery), and the *metochia* in Melix, Mousela and Arion. It is noteworthy that after the first mention of the church of Saints Eutychios and Eutychianos, Xenos never refers to this church again. Perhaps it did not survive. Even if it was a church with no property or other buildings surrounding it, Xenos would have referred to it as he referred to Saint Pavlos which was just a small oratory on the seashore.

•104. **οἱ φιλόχριστοι** : for the *philochristoi*, see entry on line 48; the term here refers to all the anonymous Christians from Crete and Constantinople who helped Xenos.

•104. οἱ τε ἄρχοντες, ἐπίσκοποι : reference to the participation of the official administrative and ecclesiastical personnel of the island; cf. Chapter 2.

•105. ἀφιέρωσαν : the manuscript gives ἀφιέρωσα and the previous editors changed it to ἀφιέρωσαν as its subject is οἱ φιλόχριστοι, οἱ τε ἄρχοντες, ἐπίσκοποι καὶ οἱ λοιποί.

•106. ὀνοθηλείας : the manuscript gives ὀνοθυλίας; for a discussion of this new accusative ending (-αις), cf. Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, p. 81. The accusative form ὀνοθηλείας has been preferred in the present edition to avoid confusion. The previous editors erroneously used the nominative form since an accusative is needed here for this noun is connected to the rest of the accusatives (πρόβατα, αἰγίδια, φορβάδια, βορδόνια); Delehay used the form ὀνοθήλεις with the -ες ending which corresponds to the nominative and accusative later Greek forms while Tomadakis erroneously used the nominative ancient Greek form ὀνοθήλεια with the -αι ending.

•106. βορδώνια : The manuscript gives βορδόνια with an *omicron* while the word is also encountered with an *omega*; cf. Lampe (s.v. τὸ βορδόνιον) and Kriaras, (s.v. το βουρδώνι, το βορδώνιν, το βορδώνι, το βορδώνιον <from the noun βουρδών-βορδών <latin burdo). The writing with *omega* has been preferred as it conforms to the general style and language of the text (language of the later Byzantine period).

•106. σαμαρικά : Delehay erroneously changed it to σαγμαρικά. Special mention is made of the saddles since they cost money, a special worker should make them and it is considered important for a mule to have a saddle. Moreover, since they can be stolen Xenos feels that he should refer to their existence and register it.

•105-106. πρόβατα χίλια τριακόσια, αἰγίδια τριακόσια, φορβάδια δέκα ἕξ, ὀνοθηλείας πέντε καὶ βορδώνια σαμαρικὰ τέσσαρα :

The registration of these animals is important since these animals would consist part of the property of the monasteries. Dairy products and wool would be provided by the sheep and the goats,

while the horses, she-asses and mules would be used for transportating monks and goods. The numbers of the animals appearing in the *Life* refer to the total number of animals belonging to the monastic foundations of Xenos. Thus, these animals were based not only in the monastery of Myriocephala but also in the other monastic units.

The numbers noted in the *Life* cannot be considered large but nor are they negligible either; see Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 344.

•107. εἰς τὸ ἀποκομίζειν τὴν τροφήν τῶν γερόντων : In hagiographical texts the word γέροντες meaning also old men, are the monks. These are the monks who would have stayed in the main monastery in Myriocephala and needed food which was brought to them from the other *metochia*.

•107-108. ἀπὸ τῆς Μουσέλας, τοῦ ἑτέρου μετοχίου τοῦ Μέλικοις, καὶ τοῦ Ἀρίου : In this phrase Xenos resumes all the *metochia* (dependent monastic units) of the main monastery. On the terms used for Xenos' establishments, see above, entry at line 52.

•108. τὰ δισκία τὰ πάντα : corrected by Tomadakis as the manuscript gives δέσκια , reading kept by Delehay. The adjective τὰ πάντα means "all kinds" of trays but it is translated as "all".

The word is mainly recorded either as δίσκος, ὁ or as δισκάριον, τό (diminutive form of the former). Trays of various sizes and made of various types of material were in common use in all Byzantine kitchens and dining rooms; used for the offering and presentation of various types of foods (see Koukoules, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, 155). Trays were also used as essential liturgical vessels ("patens") for the presentation of the bread of the Eucharist.

•108-109. τὰ τε σίδηρα καὶ τὰ χαλκώματα : vessels made of iron and of copper. σίδηρον (τό) and χάλκωμα (τό) which is mainly used in its plural form. In Byzantine kitchens there were also vessels made of copper called χαλκία or χαλκώματα (see Koukoules, *op. cit.*, vol. 2.2, 99).

•109. **τὰ μιλιάρια** : the manuscript gives μιαλιάρια (sic); Delehayé changed it to μιλιάρια while Tomadakis to μυλάρια . Both forms are correct (Kriaras, s.v.) but μιλιάρια is preferred as it is closer to the manuscript's reading.

μιλιάριον, (τό) is the high copper vessel; it was a tall copper vessel wider at the base and narrower at the neck, to boil water in (see Kriaras, s.v.). The word derives from the latin *miliarium*. The μιλιάρια were vessels used for boiling water for household use like washing clothes etc, the equivalent of ancient Greek ἱπνολέβης meaning boiler, cauldron, according to Liddell & Scott. Arethas quotes " ἱπνολέβης τὸ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ μιλιάριον"; cf. Koukoules, *op. cit.*, vol. 2.2, 100, note 8. Difficulties in the definition and interpretation of the word are presented by Koukoules, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, 161-2, esp. 161, note 6. The word μιλιάριον is not recorded so often; however, the word for the people constructing these vessels, the so-called μιλιαρῶδες, is recorded quite often in Crete, and has become one of the most common surnames in the island, Μιλιαρῶς and Μιλιαράκης (see Xanthoudides, *Μελετήματα*, Heraklion 1980, 292-4 and Koukoules, *op. cit.*, vol. 2.1, 220, notes 6-7).

•109. **τὰ κουκουμίκια** : the bronze jars. κουκουμίκιον, (τό) is called the vessel, cauldron, jar. The word recorded in our text is the diminutive of the word κουκούμιν, τό; this diminutive form does not appear in any dictionary. Forms of the word that appear are: κουκουμάριον, τό, κουκούμιν, τό, κούκουμος, ό, κούκκουμα, ή, and κουκούμιον, τό. The word derives from the latin *cuc(c)uma*. This vessel is made of metal and especially bronze, and was used in the kitchen mainly for boiling water; large and small ones are recorded; see Koukoules, *op. cit.*, vol. 2.2, 100; vol. 5, 162 (note 6), 163 (note 1) and vol. 5, 182. For the shape of that jar see Koukoules, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, 162-3.

•109. **τὰς ἀπαλαρέας** : the table vessels. ἀπαλαρέα, (ή) is the table vessel (mainly large plate, bowl or tray), that was placed on the table for food; however, there are references for these used for wine (see Koukoules, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, 154, n. 6). The word derives from the latin *epularis*, n. pl. -ria (Kriaras, s.v.). For different interpretations of this word, see Koukoules, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, 154-155

and notes. The word is also used in the *Escorial Taktikon* (971-975) meaning large plates, trays; see Oikonomides, *Listes*, 275, 16-17, and note 4.

•109-110. ἃ καὶ ἐγράφησαν, ἐπεβράβευσαν : the lack of punctuation introduced by Delehayé and Tomadakis in his first edition did not help in this passage. Tomadakis introduced a comma after ἐγράφησαν which is actually the sign of punctuation (upper point) used in the manuscript as well.

Thus ἃ καὶ ἐγράφησαν, ἐπεβράβευσαν can be translated as: these that were also written down, were registered (and approved). The term ἐπεβράβευσαν might be connected with the word βρεβίον (from the latin word *brevis*, meaning "short") which is the term for the list of the monastic property; the use of this word here might imply that the property of the monastic establishments founded by Ioannes Xenos was listed in such a brebion; cf. Chapter 3. 2, pp. 100-101.

•110. ἀπὸ τῶν φιλοχρίστων : cf. also l. 112 below; for the *philochristoi*, see line 48 above.

•111. ἐπεριῆλθον : the manuscript's reading, which is kept in the present edition. Delehayé kept it also in his edition, while Tomadakis changed it to the classical Greek with the correct augment περιῆλθον . For the use of double augment, see Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, pp. 80-81.

•111-112. † ὥς τε τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν † καὶ ἡ βοήθεια τῆς παναχράντου μητρός : a problematic phrase where there is no verb and the two main nouns (Jesus and Mother) come in two different cases. The meaning of this phrase is that everything the *philochristoi* were giving to Xenos and his foundations was given as if to the Lord with the help of the Mother of God, the intercessor.

•111. Ἰησοῦν : the manuscript gives the abbreviated correct form Ἰησοῦν but Tomadakis erroneously changed it to Ἰησοῦ.

•113. εἰς ἔτη : this is what the manuscript gives and denotes the long time during which the *philochristoi* were supporting Xenos.

However, Delehayé changed it to εἰσέτι and Tomadakis followed this correction.

One might wonder if the phrase εἰς ἔτη means "annually" but no reference to compulsory annual contribution is denoted here. Of course feast days of orthodoxy would be a good opportunity for contributions.

•113. **ζέοντες** : this is the manuscript's reading which makes sense and fits the text's context and notion. The verb ζέω means boil, be fervent, ardent; however, Tomadakis changed it to θέοντες meaning "running".

The use of this particular word is similar to a passage in Nikon's *Life* where the religious people follow the holy man (47. 3-5. ζήλω θείῳ πυρποληθεῖς, ἔθεον ἄλλος ἀλλαχόθεν μεθ' ὑπερβολῆς τῆς θερμότητος καὶ οἷα δὴ μελισσῶν σμήνος ἐν μέλιτι συνηθορίζοντο).

•114. **κατεκενοῦντο** : the verb κατακενόω is strengthened for κενόω, meaning empty, pour out (Liddell & Scott, s.v.); the preposition κατὰ denotes emphasis.

•116. **τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολὴν καὶ ἑμαυτὸν εἰδήσας καὶ καταβλεψάμενος**: the participle καταβλεψάμενος is given in the manuscript as καταβεψάμενος; both editors corrected it since it is a scribal error.

The verb καταβλέπομαι means despise, think badly of myself (Liddell & Scott, s.v.). Xenos was aware of the command of Christ (Luke 18.1 "pray always") and was not doing what he ought to be doing, i.e. prayer; so he decided to leave in order to follow the command of Christ.

There is a balance in the text in the lines preceding and following the phrase with this participle. The phrases in lines 113-114 (εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν δύστηνον καὶ ὀλέθριον) and 125-126 (καὶ πάλιν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολλῶν μου ἁμαρτιῶν οὐκ ἔασάν με ἀναπαυθῆναι οἱ φιλόχριστοι); Xenos has that sense of "looking down", "disregard", "think badly of himself". He feels as if he was not doing the things he ought to be doing, i.e. praying all the time, looking for solitude, etc.

In the 11th century monasticism faced a paradox; the tension between spiritualism and the practical realities of survival; see

Morris, *Monks and laymen in Byzantium*, chapter 8 (Territorial expansion and spiritual compromise), 200-240.

•117. διὰ τὸ μηδ' ὅλως ἔχειν με ἀνάπαυσιν μίαν ὥραν ἄνεσιν : the manuscript gives ἔχει but the editors' proposition of the infinitive form is correct; it is a prepositional infinitive denoting purpose and the elimination of the final -ν should be attributed to a scribal error. Moreover, μίαν ὥραν ἄνεσιν functions in apposition as an explanation of ἀνάπαυσιν.

•118. τὸν τόπον τοῦ λεγομένου Κουφοῦ καὶ μέσον τοῦ χωρίου ἀνέγειρα ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου :

Koufos is a village of the county of Kydonia, prefecture of Chania, next to the village of Alikianos. It seems that the village flourished during the 11th and the 12th centuries as a document of 1212 (?) testifies; cf. Fl. Cornelius, *Creta Sacra*, II, Modena 1971, 240; cf. also Tomadakis, "Λαχανέας - La Canea. Χάνια - Χανιά", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 48 (1938), 99-101. Tomadakis ("Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ Ἐρημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ. 10ος-11ος αἰών. Ἀγιολογικά καὶ Ὑμνολογικά", 18) rejects Petit's identification of Koufos with a place called Μετόχι Κουφοῦ which is near Nerokouros, south-east of Chania. Petit though, referred to the village of Koufos, next to Alikianos, and wondered if the church of Zoodochos Pege located there could be the one Xenos built; cf. Petit, *op. cit.*, 12-13.

The church dedicated to the Mother of God built by Xenos is identified with the church located between the villages of Koufos and Alikianos and closer to the former. It is a cross-in-square church, larger than the other churches built by Ioannes Xenos. The size and its architectural characteristics, with clear Constantinopolitan features, raise reasonable questions about the way Xenos built a church of such dimensions and about the funds needed for such an endeavour. According to the *Life* Xenos built this church immediately after coming back from his trip to Constantinople where he acquired the chrysobull and other kinds of property for his monastic foundations. It seems possible that Constantinopolitan builders and artists travelled back with Xenos to Crete (see Chapter 2). Thus, Xenos' trip gave him the funds and

quite possibly the manpower needed to construct a church of that size.

The story of this church after its first mention by Xenos remains unknown. Neither written sources nor archaeological evidence provide sufficient information.

The basic archaeological study for this monument was done by A. Orlandos who was in charge of the restoration of the church by the Archaeological Service in years 1951-52. Orlandos argued that the 11th century building became ruined and the church was rebuilt during the 14th century; cf. Anastasios Orlandos, "Δύο Βυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Δυτικῆς Κρήτης. α. ὁ "Χριστὸς" τῶν Μεσκλῶν. β. ὁ "Αἱ κυρ-Γιάννης τοῦ Ἀλυκιανοῦ – Κουφοῦ", *Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, vol. 8, Athens 1955-1956, 170-205. Tomadakis ("Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ Ἐρημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ. 10ος-11ος αἰών. Ἀγιολογικά καὶ Ὑμνολογικά", 18) states that Orlandos believes the building dates from the period after 1204. Leledakis (p. 76, note 8) gives 1004 as the church's date but he got confused by another inscribed date (1604), see Orlandos, *op. cit.*, 187. The monastery's history remains unknown during the Venetian period. In the census of the churches and monasteries of the region of Chania in 1637 this church is not mentioned. Maria Chaireti, "Ἡ ἀπογραφή τῶν ναῶν καὶ τῶν μονῶν τῆς περιοχῆς Χανίων τοῦ ἔτους 1637", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 36 (1968), 335-388. After the Turkish occupation the church is referred to as belonging to the monastery of Chrysopege as the *typikon* of the latter testifies, but the date of its acquisition by the monastery is unknown; cf. Psilakis, *Μοναστήρια καὶ Ἐρημητήρια τῆς Κρήτης*, vol. 2, 290-292. In the sigillion of Patriarch Gregorios V (1797) it is mentioned as "ἐκκλησία τοῦ ἁγίου κυρ ἰωάννου εἰς τὸν κουφόν"; cf. St. Xanthoudides, "Δουκικά διατάγματα. Πατριαρχικά σιγίλλια καὶ γράμματα Χρυσοπηγῆς", *Χριστιανικὴ Κρήτη* 2(1913), 195-246, esp. 222, 224, 228.

Today the church is dedicated to Zoodochos Pege but is widely known under the name τοῦ ἁϊ-κυρ-Γιάννη, the popular name of Ioannes Xenos. After restoration work undertaken by the Archaeological Service in 1977, the monument stands in a much better condition (see photos 12 and 13).

On the church, see Giuseppe Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti nell' isola di Creta*, II, Venezia 1908, 239 (with a groundplan of the church) and

253; G. Gerola - K.E. Lassithiotakis, *Τοπογραφικὸς κατάλογος τῶν τοιχογραφημένων ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Κρήτης*, Heraklion 1961, catalogue number 52; M. Chatzidakis, "Τοιχογραφίες στὴν Κρήτη", *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά* 6 (1952), 59-91, esp. 75. Gallas-Borboudakis, *op. cit.*, 238-241.

•119. **ἀνέγειρα** : the manuscript gives ἀνέγειραν which is the form for the 3rd person plural of the 1st aorist (without the augment ε). Tomadakis changed it to the 1st person singular since ἐγώ, i.e. Xenos is the subject. The final -ν in ἀνέγειραν may be due to the following word starting with a ν (ναόν). For the augment, see Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, pp. 80-81.

•119. **κατεφύτευσα** : the participle κατεφύτευσας (leg. κατεφυτεύσας) is given in the manuscript. The editors proposed the indicative form κατεφύτευσα, which is adopted in the present edition as well, even though the use of the participle is not incorrect. For this form, see Chapter 3. 1, pp. 74, 75 and 80.

•120. **προσεκτησάμην καὶ χωραφίτζια μοδίων τεσσαράκοντα** : for the *modios*, see line 83. The diminutive form of χωράφιον (see Chapter 3. 1, p. 84) is used here as well as in line 70. The word is translated as arable land and forty *modioi* cannot be considered a small piece of land. It seems possible that Xenos acquired small plots of land separately (and this is the reason for using the diminutive) which added up to forty *modioi*.

The monastery in Koufos had in its possession a vineyard and arable land. Moreover, Xenos established a monk in the foundation and then left. It is interesting that Xenos built this monastic foundation as well as others in villages. He did not prefer deserted places, a practice that many holy men were following. But see below, for the foundation of Saint Pavlos at a remote area and his withdrawal to Akti.

•121. **ἀνηχώρησα** : In the present edition it is kept as in the manuscript while both editors changed it to ἀνεχώρησα; cf. also ll. 65 and 72. For the different types of augment used in the text, see Chapter 3. 1, grammar section, pp. 80-81.

•122. ἀπελθόντος : the manuscript gives ἀπελτος, an obvious error due to oversight during copying; it was corrected by the previous editors.

•122. ὀπίσω ἐν γαλῶ : the manuscript's reading was changed by Delehaye to ὀπίσω αἰγιαλῶ and Tomadakis considered it as a toponym Ὀπίσω Αἰγιαλόν, which is not correct; such a toponym does not exist. The preposition ἐν is specified and is supported by the adverb ὀπίσω to give further precision. For similar spoken language phrases, indicative of the Greek of the later Byzantine period, see Chapter 3. 1, vocabulary section, pp. 84-85. The adverb ὀπίσω (rear) also has a topographical significance; cf. entry on ll. 38-39. The "rear" shore is the south coast of the island of Crete as the north coast of Crete is seen as the "front", because this is where people landed coming from the Byzantine mainland; cf. *Cisamensis'* version, line 118, where the sense of "rear" is explained (εἰς τοὺς ὀπίσω αἰγιαλοὺς τῆς Κρήτης πρὸς Νότον [at the rear sea shores of Crete, to the south]).

•122-123. καὶ προσέμεινα ἡμέρας ἱκανάς : the adjective ἱκανός expresses a substantial period of time. Xenos would have stayed at the area for a long time since he built a church there (see below).

•123. οἴκησα εὐκτήριον τὸν ἅγιον Παῦλον : this church built by Xenos should be identified with the small "free-cross" domed church that still survives today in a very good condition on the seashore between Loutro and Hagia Roumeli. That place is considered sacred as it was where Saint Paul arrived on his way to Rome. Saint Paul stopped not only at Kaloi Limenes on the south coast of the county of Pyrgiotissa (see entry on Lithines and Raxos) but also on the coast of Phoenix; cf. Acts of the Apostles: 27, 8-12. The church is erected on a rock at a most wild and remote spot. When the Libyan sea is rough, the waves reach and hit its south side and it is a wonder how it has survived after so many centuries. Archaeologists and travellers have stressed their concern about its situation in their studies and books; see K. Lassithiotakis, " Ἐκκλησίες τῆς Δυτικῆς Κρήτης", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 23 (1971), 95-177, esp. 101-105; cf. M.

Defner, *Ὀδοιπορικαὶ ἐντυπώσεις ἀπὸ τὴν Δυτικὴν Κρήτην*, 174. Lassithiotakis in his study remarks that the stones, the mortar and the salt of the sea have turned the church into a monolithic construction (see photos 14 and 15).

Two frescoes that were painted at a later stage are preserved in this church; cf. Lassithiotakis, *op. cit.*, 105; and Gerola - Lassithiotakis, *Τοπογραφικὸς κατάλογος τῶν τοιχογραφημένων ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Κρήτης*, catalogue number 210.

Xenos decided to go to this remote place as he wanted to stay alone far away from the people. He probably chose this area as it was known to be sacred because of Saint Paul's visit. And it is common for holy men to visit places where other holy men and Saints have been; it is a sort of pilgrimage. It does not seem impossible for Xenos to have this church built by himself; however, some help could have been provided by an occasional visitor; on this and on the choice of this architectural type, see Chapter 2.

•123-124. καὶ ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν Ἀζωγυρέαν τὸν ἅγιον Γεώργιον :

Given in the manuscript as Ναζωγυραῖαν ; a phonetic mistake as the scribe got confused with the ν of the article and put it in the noun as well (τὸν Ναζωγηραῖαν for τὸν Ἀζωγυρέαν). This mistake also might imply that the person who copied the text, was not aware of the Cretan toponyms. Even if the manuscript was produced in Crete (see Chapter 3. 2, pp. 101-102) it is not necessary for the manuscript to have been copied by a Cretan scribe; many scribes came to Crete after the fall of Constantinople. Delehay, not being aware of the Cretan toponyms himself, kept it in his edition as it appears in the manuscript, while Tomadakis, a local Cretan, gave the corrected version in his edition.

The adverb ἐπάνω supports and specifies the preposition εἰς and forms a spoken language phrase, indicative of the later Byzantine period (see Chapter 3. 1, vocabulary section, pp. 84-85); it also helps to define the topography. Usage of similar adverbs throughout the text helps to plot the route of Xenos' journey. Here, the village of Azogyreas is higher up above Saint Paul which is at sea level; cf. entry at ll. 38-39.

Ioannes Xenos built three churches dedicated to Saint Georgios, a Saint widely celebrated in the island. The first one at Melix (Saint

Georgios the Douvrikas); the second one near the village of Pege (Saint Georgios the Opsaropiastes); and the third one at the village of Azogyreas.

The identification of the church in the village Azogyreas has confused scholars in the past, for the following reasons:

1. The existence of two villages called Azogyreas in the south part of Kissamos county in the prefecture of Chania (see map).
2. The archaeological evidence: a church dedicated to Saint Georgios exists in Chasi which is a village next to the western Azogyreas, but it is difficult to identify it with the one Xenos built since its frescoes date it to the second half of the 13th century (Gallas-Borboudakis, *op. cit.*, 208-209; and Gerola - Lassithiotakis, *Τοπογραφικὸς κατάλογος τῶν τοιχογραφημένων ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Κρήτης*, catalogue number 98).
3. The eastern village of Azogyreas is connected with Ioannes Eremites and the Holy Fathers according to tradition and according to the information derived from Ioannes Eremites' *synaxaria* and *Akolouthiae* (see Introduction). Ioannes Eremites together with his companions, known and worshipped today as the 98 Holy Fathers, lived in a cave near this village and a church dedicated to their name and to Ioannes Eremites exists in this area. The mistaken identification of Xenos with Eremites lead scholars to identify the Azogyreas of Xenos' *Life* with the area where Eremites lived with his companions; cf. Introduction.

The *Relazione* of Francesco Basilicata (1630) might help in the identification of the village. There are references to both villages with the name Azogyreas; the one is called Asogirea Giorgi and the other is called Asogirea Petres; see Spanakis, *Μνημεῖα Κρητικῆς Ἱστορίας*, vol. V, 136-137. Thus, it seems clear that the village Xenos visited is the one called Asogirea Giorgi which is the western village of the two; however, we cannot know if the church found now in Chasi was built at the site of Xenos' first building or if it was Xenos' building restored sometime later.

A reference to this village is found in a forged document of 1092 (1192): νὰ ὑπάγη εἰς τὸ Λουκιανῶν ἀλύακι ἕως τοῦ Ἀζογύρου τὰ μούργια; τὸ Λουκιανῶν ἀλύακι is the wild river of the village Loukiana that goes through the village of Sougia and flows into the Libyan sea; cf. E. Gerland, *Histoire de la Noblesse Crétoise au Moyen Age*, Paris

1907, 108 and n.13. The toponym Azogyros in this document refers to the area of the western village with this name.

On the etymology of the word Azogyreas coming from the plant ἄζώγουρος, see El. Platakis, "Τὸ φυτὸ ἄζόγουρος καὶ τὰ συνώνυμά του", *Κρητολογία* 9 (1979), 134.

•124. **μελισσουργεῖον** : "μελισσουργεῖον" (apiary) is a place where they actually make honey. This is the second reference to beehives in the *Life*; cf. ll. 85-86.

•127. **εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Κισάμου ἔξω εἰς τὴν Ἀκτὴν** :

Kissamos is the western county in the prefecture of Chania. The main town of the county carries this same name, while today it is more widely known as Kastelli, meaning the fortress built by the Venetians in the town. Kissamos was also one of the bishoprics of the island (see table 1). In the *Life* the reference to Kissamos is quite general ("in the district of Kissamos").

Akti means beach and seashore. It also is a coastal area in the region of Mesogeia in Kissamos and keeps that same name today. It was a medieval village listed in the *Relazione* of Francesco Basilicata (1630); cf. Spanakis, *Μνημεῖα τῆς Κρητικῆς Ἱστορίας*, V, Heraklion 1969, 134. Basilicata says that the village of Akti was under the jurisdiction of Kastelli of Kissamos (Chissamo Castello).

Petit refers to the village of Akti in Kissamos and to the probability of its identification with the reference in Xenos' *Life*. Moreover, he points out that in the edition of Delehayé 'Ἀκτὴ' is written with a small letter, meaning beach or seashore; cf. Petit, *op. cit.*, 14-15.

To avoid being disturbed by people Xenos decided to go to a remote area once again. The adjective ἔξω shows how far and lonely that place was; its use helps once again to define the topography in the *Life*. Towards the end of his life Xenos wanted to stay alone more and more. Probably he was getting tired of people more easily and also he was feeling a bit guilty and uneasy as he had not spent his life on his own, praying and searching for *eremia*, as he had wanted to do.

In the popular version of *Cisamensis* there is a reference to the building of a church and the foundation of a monastic establishment in Akti. Today, a church dedicated to Ioannes Xenos exists in Akti

but it is a later building and its frescoes date to the early 14th century; cf. Andrianakis, *op. cit.*, 43-44. The information recorded in *Cisamensis* regarding the building of a church and a monastic foundation in Akti might derive from oral tradition; cf. also Introduction and Appendix.

•128. προσμένειν ἡρετισάμην διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σύγχυσιν : Xenos chose to go far away to avoid being disturbed by people. A common *topos* and a common problem for popular holy men. A similar parallel is found in the *Life of Luke*: 47. 1-4 (Πολλὰς δὲ τὰς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ φέρων ὀχλήσεις διὰ τὸ καὶ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ὁσήμεραι φοιτῶντας καὶ τὸ φιλήσυχον αὐτῷ καὶ γαληνὸν ὑποφθείροντας, ἐβούλετο μὲν ἐκεῖθεν ἀναχωρεῖν καὶ πρὸς ἐρημικωτέρους μεταβῆναι τόπους).

•128. οὕτως : given in the manuscript as αὐτως; both editors corrected it while they read αὐτιος as mentioned in their apparatus criticus.

•128-130. πάντα τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ ἐπισυνάψας καὶ ἐγγράφως ποιήσας ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦτο διορίζομαι καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσι : With this phrase Xenos concludes his will (cf. the introductory phrase usually denoting testaments in ll. 10-12); cf. Chapter 3. 2, pp. 98-101. The phrase τὰ κατ' ἐμέ refers to all the things that have happened in Xenos' life (translated as "all the matters that were related to me"); cf. l. 14 (τὸ κατ' ἐμέ) where Xenos uses almost the same phrase (in singular) to start talking about his life.

•129. ἐγγράφως : written in the manuscript with one *gamma* (ἐγραφως); same mistake as in l. 49 (ἐγραφον for ἔγγραφον) and corrected by the editors.

•130-131. ὡς ἂν πάσας ἐκκλησίας ἡγείρα ὡς εἴρηται : with this phrase Xenos summarises the previous detailed account about the building of all his monastic foundations.

•131-132. καὶ ἅ προσεκτεσάμην κινητά, ἀκίνητα καὶ αὐτοκίνητα : Xenos refers to all kinds of properties he acquired for his foundations: movable property (icons, books, sacred vessels, clothing for the

churches and the monks), immovable property (churches and other building, land, gardens, vineyards, trees) and self-moved property; by this last term he refers to the animals belonging to the network of his monasteries.

•133. ἵνα εἰσὶν πάντα εἰς τὴν μονὴν τοῦ Μυριοκεφάλου : the final statement of Xenos: everything is to belong to the monastery of Myriokephalon.

•132-133. ἕως συστολῆς τοῦ παρόντος [μου] κόσμου : Tomadakis correctly deleted μου. The phrase is translated as "until the end of the present world". It is obvious that Xenos is composing his testament for the period after his death and not for the period until *his* withdrawal from the present world. The testament is intended to function mainly after the death of its author.

•133. βασιλεῖς : Tomadakis, in his second edition, erroneously changed βασιλεῖς to βασιλεύς. In lines 90-91, where Xenos' trip to Constantinople is described, we read ... ἀπελθὼν εἰς τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ δεηθεὶς αὐτοῖς ... , and further down in line 92 ... ψυχικῆς αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας ... ; So, the plural is given three times in the text; cf. entry on l. 90.

•135. εὐκτηρίων : the manuscript's reading is οἰκτηρίων, and it has been corrected by the editors.

•135-136. ὑπ' αὐτῶν : Tomadakis, in his second edition, changed it to ὑπ' αὐτήν, presumably referring to the main monastery (μονήν) Xenos founded, that of the Mother of God in Myriokephala. However, αὐτῶν refers to the word τῶν εὐκτηρίων (l. 135).

•136. ταύτην : i.e. the monastery, τὴν δηλωθεῖσαν μονήν (same line).

•137. ἄλυτος ἔστω : Delehayé did not correct the manuscript's reading while Tomdakis correctly changed it. The word ἔστω is connected with ἄλυτος and with ἀγχόνῃ καθυποβαλλόμενος.

•137-138. ἡ μερίς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ κλῆρος αὐτοῦ : The words "μερίς" and "κλῆρος" have a theological notion here; they are associated with fate and destiny, not with the financial and economic situation of a person.

•138-139. καὶ ἀναθέματι : the manuscript gives καὶ ἀναθέματα καὶ ἀναθέματα, a mistaken repetition deleted by both editors. Moreover, Tomadakis changed ἀναθέματα to the dative ἀναθέματι as this word is connected with the previous dative ἀγχόνῃ; the frequent use of the accusative instead of the dative is one of the characteristics of the Greek of the later Byzantine period; see Chapter 3. 1, pp. 75-76.

•139. ἀναθέματι καὶ τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ θεοφόρων Πατέρων : Tomadakis in his editions omitted καὶ before τῶν; however, this καὶ seems to have been used in order to emphasise the curse. The word τριακοσίων is given erroneously as τετρακοσίων in the manuscript. The anathema of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers refers to the bishops who attended the Council of Nicaea in 325. From contemporary sources we know that about 300 bishops attended the Council. The number 318 is the number of servants in the household of Abraham at *Genesis* 14.14; M. Aubineau, "Les 318 serviteurs d' Abraham (Gen. XIV, 14) et le nombre des Pères au concile de Nicée (325)", *Revue d' histoire ecclésiastique* 61 (1966), 5-43, has traced the tradition by which this significant number came to be used of the bishops at Nicaea; cf. Charlotte Roueché (with contributions by J. M. Reynolds), *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, London 1989, 170.

A parallel to Xenos' curse can be found in the *Life* of Lazaros of Mount Galesios; Lazaros after recording his *diatyposis* (see Historical context) added a curse at its end as this was a usual practice (246. Πρὸς δὲ τὸ τέλος, καθὼς εἰώθασι ποιεῖν ἐν ταῖς διατυπώσεσι, καὶ ἄρὰν τέθεικεν ὁ ταύτην γράψας τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ θεοφόρων πατέρων ... ὃς ἂν μίαν καὶ μόνην συλλαβὴν τῆσδε τῆς διαθήκης παρασαλεῦσαι ἢ παραβῆναι τολμήσειε).

•140. εἰ : the editors changed this to ἀεὶ without any particular reason since the manuscript's reading is correct. εἰ introduces a conditional subordinate clause.

•141. **ἐπουράνιος** : ἐπουρανίοις in the manuscript and corrected by the previous editors.

•141. **ἡ μεσίτρια τοῦ κόσμου** : the word is usually found as μεσίτης, ὁ (masculine) and μεσίτις, ἡ (feminine). Here the alternative ending -ρια (as in εὐαγγελίστρια, ἡ) is used in the formation of this feminine noun which refers to the Theotokos as "Mediator" (the "Mediatrice" in the latin tradition).

•142. **ὀφλήματα** : the mistaken manuscript's reading ὀφιλήματα was changed by the previous editors.

•140-142. **εἰ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα φυλάττων, ᾧ ἐποίησα καὶ προσεκτησάμην, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἡ μεσίτρια τοῦ κόσμου συγχωρήσει αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ ὀφλήματα αὐτῶν** : grammatical and syntactical problems can be noticed in this phrase: 1. the words Θεός and μεσίτρια are the subjects of the verb συγχωρήσει which is in the singular instead of plural; 2. the participle φυλάττων (singular) coexists with the plural forms αὐτοῖς and αὐτῶν instead of αὐτῷ and αὐτοῦ. This phrase, often used in prayers, was written without due attention as it was a very well known phrase; a common mistake when we have common and often used phrases.

•142-143. **ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων** : the previous editors changed it to ἐν τῷ μένοντι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων without reason, since the invocation is written in a different but perfectly correct way.

Indices

Indices ¹

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¹ The indices contain all the words except the article and the word καί. The numbers indicate the line numbers of the critical edition; the superscript number indicates the times that the word appears in a particular line.

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² For ἐντελεύομαι, see the relevant entry in the Commentary.

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Appendix

The *Life of Ioannes Xenos* as preserved in *Cisamensis* (18th-19th century)

A popular version of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* had been preserved in a manuscript known as *Cisamensis* which is now lost.¹ The manuscript was located in the church of saints Eustathios and Ai-kyr-Yiannis in the village Tsourouniana of Kissamos county. The manuscript bearing the date 1844 was a copy of an earlier manuscript which was dated to the year 1703 as a note in the manuscript testifies.² The text was edited in 1948 by Tomadakis³ and was also contained in Tomadakis' final study on Xenos of 1983-1986.⁴

There are no important or crucial differences between the two editions of Tomadakis that might have affected the meaning of the text. The text in the first edition is written consecutively while in the second edition is divided in paragraphs. A short apparatus criticus of very poor quality appears only in the first edition; it mainly contains references to spelling mistakes. The main changes between the two editions concern punctuation, accentuation and capitalisation of initial letters of certain proper nouns.

¹ *Cisamensis* has this title because this manuscript was found in the area of Kissamos in Crete. Kissamos is also transliterated as Cissamos; thus, *Cisamensis*. I kept the *Cisamensis* transliteration (and did not change it to *Kissamensis*) since all previous scholars who have worked on this topic, have used it as such in their studies.

Attempts to trace this manuscript proved to be unsuccessful. N. Psilakis informed me that the last information we have for the existence of this manuscript records its possession by a certain metropolitan of the town of Moires in the area of Messarea (Messara), near the birthplace of Xenos. It is not possible though, to know with certainty if that manuscript was the one Tomadakis edited and studied in 1948, i.e. *Cisamensis*. Moreover, a priest in the village Platanias, near Chania, has informed the ephor of Byzantine antiquities M. Andrianakis that he has an important document about Xenos in his possession but he has not revealed yet what kind of document is that. Ioannes Xenos is still a very popular monastic figure in the island of Crete and many people as also many places want a share of his popularity and importance.

² cf. N.B. Tomadakis, " 'Ο ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἡ Διαθήκη αὐτοῦ", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 2 (1948), 47-72, esp. 52; cf. also Introduction, p. 22 and note 25, on the serial copying of this manuscript.

³ Tomadakis, " 'Ο ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἡ Διαθήκη αὐτοῦ ", 61-66.

⁴ Tomadakis, " 'Ο ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ Ἡρεμίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ. 10ος-11ος αἰών. Ἀγιολογικά καὶ Ὑμνολογικά", *Ἑπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 46 (1983-1986), 1-117, esp. 8-12.

The text as this appears in the second edition of Tomadakis, is reproduced in this appendix. Only a few spelling mistakes and misprints have been corrected. The paratactic sentence structure and the very long sentences characterise this text. In the translation the punctuation of the text has been followed in general terms to preserve the nature of the text.

The main differences between the *Cisamensis*' version and *Canonicus*' are the narration of the *Life* in the 3rd person singular; the popular Greek in which the account is written, which denotes the later period of its composition (18th-19th century); and the division of the text in two parts, the *Life* and the *Testament* of Ioannes Xenos. The *Testament* is narrated in the first person singular. Moreover, some alterations appear in *Cisamensis*' version and some elements have been added.

The division of the text into two parts, the *Life* and the *Testament*, misled the academic team of scholars at Dumbarton Oaks Centre of Byzantine Studies who have been working on the project *Byzantine Monastic Foundations Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*. Thus, they decided to include in their project only the part of Xenos' text entitled *Testament* (starting at line 135 of the edition) as this appears in the later *Cisamensis*' version. Gianfranco Fiaccadori undertook the translation and study of this part.⁵ It is noteworthy that Fiaccadori refers to the *Testament* as this appears in *Cisamensis* as the "complete version", which "should be compared carefully with the abbreviated account found in the version based on the Bodleian manuscript".⁶ It is obvious that the earlier version of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* contained in *Canonicus graecus* 19, which is closer to the initial composition by Xenos, has not been studied properly. Fiaccadori as well as the other members of the project did not realise the nature of the text which depicts a

⁵ The Dumbarton Oaks project *Byzantine Monastic Foundations Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments* (John Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero, eds.) can be found on www.doaks.org/typ000.html. The pages referring to the *Testament* of Ioannes Xenos are 143-147.

⁶ See Dumbarton Oaks project, p. 145, note 13.

combination of literary genres.⁷ Moreover, they used dated bibliography which makes this part of the project unreliable.⁸

⁷ See Chapter 3. 2.

⁸ See Introduction, pp. 13-14, note 9.

Βίος καὶ Πολιτεία τοῦ Ὁσίου καὶ Θεοφόρου Πατρὸς ἡμῶν

Κύρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ.

Εὐλόγησον Πάτερ,

5 Οὗτος ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰωάννης ἐγεννήθη εἰς ἓνα χωρίον τῆς περιφήμου Κρήτης, λεγόμενον Σίβα ἀπὸ γονεῖς εὐσεβεῖς καὶ πλουσίους, εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων βασιλέων ἡμῶν Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν πορφυρογεννήτων, ἔτει ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως λθ' (970), ἀφοῦ ἐξωλόθρευσεν ὁ ἐνδοξότατος Νικηφόρος ὁ Φωκᾶς τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς ἀπ' αὐτὸ τὸ νησίον. Ὁ ὁποῖος ἀπὸ μικρὸς ἠγάπησε τὴν μοναχικὴν ζωὴν, καὶ ἀπαρνᾶται τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἀδελφοὺς καὶ φίλους καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν πρόσκαιρον καὶ πᾶσαν καλοπάθειαν τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἔρημον τῆς αὐτῆς νήσου καὶ ἐκατοίκησεν ἐκεῖ χρόνους πολλοὺς, συντρεφόμενος μὲ τὰ ἄγρια θηρία, ὑπομένοντας τὸν καύσωνα τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τὴν κρυάδα τῆς νυκτός, ὡσὰν νὰ ἦτο πέτρινος, καὶ περιπατῶντας ἀπὸ βουνὸν ἕως βουνὸν ἦλθεν εἰς ἓνα ὄρος λεγόμενον Ῥαξοῦ, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πολλὰς. Εἶτα ἐπῆγε πλέον ἔσωθεν εἰς ἄλλο ὄρος ὅπου ἦτο δάσος καὶ ἀγριάδα πολλή, καὶ ἐκεῖ εὐρίσκοντας ἓνα σπήλαιον εἰσῆλθεν ἔσωθεν, καὶ καθὼς ἐσέβη θεωρεῖ μέσα εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον δύο μνήματα, ἓνα πρὸς τὸν Βορέα καὶ ἄλλο πρὸς τὸν Νότον, καὶ διαλογιζόμενος τί νὰ εἶναι ταῦτα, ἀκούει μίαν φωνὴν ἀνθρώπου, ἢ ὁποῖα τὸν ἐκάλεσε τρεῖς φορὰς καὶ λέγει του ἔτσι ·

15
20

Ἰωάννη, Ἰωάννη. Αὐτὰ τὰ δύο μνήματα τὰ ὁποῖα εἶδες εἶναι Εὐτυχίου καὶ Εὐτυχιανοῦ καὶ θέλεις κτίσει αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν.

Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ ἅγιος ὅτι ἡ φωνὴ τὸν προστάζει νὰ κτίσῃ ἐκκλησίαν, ἔμεινεν εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον καὶ μὲ πολὺν πόθον ἄρχισε νὰ παστρεύῃ τὸ σπήλαιον καὶ εἰς ὀλίγον καιρὸν ἔκτισεν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς αὐτό, καὶ ἀφήνοντας ἐκεῖ ἓναν καλόγηρον, ἀνεχώρησε.

25

Καὶ πάλιν περιπατῶντας ὁ ἅγιος ἀπὸ τόπου εἰς τόπον καὶ ἀπὸ ὄρους εἰς ὄρος, ὑπῆγεν ἐπάνω εἰς μίαν κορυφὴν ἐνὸς ὄρους, ὀνομαζομένου

30 Μυριοκεφάλου, καὶ ἐκεῖ εὗρε ἓνα κτίσμα ἑλληνικόν, ἄνωθεν τῆς χώρας
 λεγομένης Τούρμας τοῦ Καλαμῶνος, τὸ ὁποῖον ἦτο πολλὰ μέγαλον, καὶ διὰ
 τὴν δριμύτητα τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐσέβη μέσα, καὶ ὡς ἐσέβη μέσα εὐθὺς
 ἐτυφλώθηκε. Ὅμως ὁ ἅγιος, μένοντας οὕτως τυφλός, δὲν ἐβαρύνθη πρὸς τὸν
 Θεόν, ἀλλὰ μὲ εὐχαριστίας καὶ ὑπομονὴν ἐπροσηύχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρα καὶ
 35 νύκτα καὶ εἰς τὰς ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας ὅπου ἦτο τυφλός, ἔρχεται ἄνωθεν μία φωνὴ καὶ
 λέγει του· Ἰωάννη, Ἰωάννη, ἐλθὲ ἔξω καὶ στράφου κατὰ Ἀνατολάς. Καὶ τότε
 τοῦ ἐφάνη πὼς τὸν ἐκρατοῦσε τινὰς ἀπὸ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐβγῆκεν ἔξω καί,
 στρεφόμενος κατὰ Ἀνατολάς, θεωρεῖ ἓνα μέγα φῶς, καὶ πάλιν ἀκούει ἄλλην
 φωνήν, ἡ ὁποία τὸν ἐπρόσταζε λέγοντάς του· Ἰωάννη, Ἰωάννη. Εἰς τὸν τόπον
 40 τοῦτον θέλεις κτίσει ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς
 Ἀντιφωνήτριας. Καὶ μὲ τὴν φωνὴν εὐθὺς ἐξετυφλώθη.

Καὶ ἔτσι ὁ ἅγιος ὑπῆγεν εἰς τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ζητῶντας βοήθειαν διὰ
 νὰ κτίσῃ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς καλοπροαίρετοι τοῦ ἔδιδαν
 περισσότερον ἀπὸ ὅτι ἐζήτη, καὶ ἔτσι ἀγόρασε τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τοὺς
 45 ἰδίους κληρονόμους, καὶ δι' ἐγγράφου ἐξεχώρησε τὸν τόπον μὲ σύνορα καὶ
 περιοχὴν, κάμνοντας καὶ αὐτοί, ἐξ ἰδίας των προαιρέσεως χάριν πολλὴν διὰ
 τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Καὶ οὕτως ὁ ἅγιος, μὲ πόθον πολύν, ἔκτισε τὴν
 αὐτὴν μονὴν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Ἀντιφωνήτριας,
 καθὼς ἡ φωνὴ τὸν ἐπρόσταζε. Εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν μονὴν ἀφιέρωσεν ὅλα του τὰ
 50 πράγματα ὕστερον, κινητὰ καὶ ἀκίνητα, καθὼς θέλετε ἀκούσει ὅσα κατ'
 οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ καὶ βοήθειαν τῆς Παναγίας ἀπόκτησε. Καὶ ἔτσι ἔβαλεν εἰς
 αὐτὴν καλογήρους ἕξ καὶ ἓνα ἱερομόναχον Λουκᾶν διὰ προεστῶτα.

Εἶτα ἐμίσσευσε καὶ ἀπ' αὐτὴν τὴν μονὴν καὶ ἐπῆγεν εἰς ἄλλον τόπον
 κραζόμενον Μέλিকা, καὶ ἀναβαίνοντας ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον Χαμοβούνι,
 55 ἔκτισε μίαν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου τοῦ Δομβρίκα, εἰς
 τὸν ὁποῖον τόπον οὔτε χλωρὸν χόρτον ἦτο οὔτε ξηρόν, ἀλλ' ὁ τόπος ἦτο ξηρὸς
 καὶ ἄνυδρος. Ἀλλὰ μὲ τέχνην ἔκαμε δοχὴν στέρναν καὶ ἐμάζεψε τὸν χειμῶνα
 τὸ νερὸν διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν του. Οἱ δὲ κληρονόμοι τοῦ τόπου ἐκεῖνου,

60 ὁδηγηθέντες ὑπὸ Θεοῦ, τοῦ ἐχάρισαν καὶ ἄλλον τόπον καλόν, μὲ χωράφια
 εὐκαρπα καὶ ἔκαμε καὶ περιβόλιον καὶ ἀμπελῶνα, καὶ ἀφήνοντας ἐκεῖ ἓνα
 ἱερομόναχον ὀνόματι Νικόδημον, μὲ ἄλλους ἕξι ἀδελφοὺς ἐμίσσευσε ἀπ' ἐκεῖ
 καὶ περιπατῶν ἀπὸ τόπου εἰς τόπον μετὰ ἡμέρας τινὰς ἔφθασεν εἰς ἓνα τόπον
 καλόν καὶ εὖμορφον καλούμενον Ἀρίου, πλησίον εἰς τὸ χωρίον Πηγῆς, καὶ
 65 ζητῶντας ἀπὸ τοὺς κατοίκους τοῦ χωρίου, τοῦ ἐχάρισαν ἓνα τόπον εἰς τὸν
 ὁποῖον ἔκτισε μίαν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου τοῦ
 Ψαροπιάστη. Καὶ ἰδόντες οἱ αὐτοὶ χωρῖται τὴν καλὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὰ ἔνθεα
 κατορθώματα τοῦ ἁγίου, τὲς νηστεῖες, τὲς ἀγρυπνίες, τὲς προσευχὰς καὶ
 εὐχαριστίες, τοῦ ἐδώκασιν καὶ χωράφια ζευγαριῶν δύο καὶ ὀλίγα δενδράκια,
 τὰ ὅποια ἀφιέρωσεν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν μονήν.

70 Καὶ ἀφήνοντας ἐκεῖ ἓνα ἱερομόναχον ὀνόματι Εὐτύχιον, ἐγύρισε πάλιν
 εἰς τὴν μονὴν τῶν Μυριοκεφάλων καὶ εὔρε τοὺς καλογήρους πολλὰ
 στενοχωρημένους ἀπὸ τροφὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρειαζόμενα. Καὶ ἐβγαίνοντας εἰς
 τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς Χριστιανοὺς ζητῶντας ἐλεημοσύνην, τὸν ἠλέησαν ὥς
 καλοπροαίρετοι καὶ φιλόχριστοι πλουσιοπάροχα. Καὶ οὕτως ἐκυβέρνησεν
 75 αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔκαμε καὶ ζευγάρια ἕξ.

Ἀπ' ἐκεῖ πάλιν ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὸ χωρίον Μουσέλας, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀγόρασεν ἀπὸ
 τοὺς κληρονόμους τὸν τόπον ὀνόματι Μεσοσταβλῖτες μερίδια δύο. Καὶ
 θεωρῶντας οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου τὸν πολλὸν πόθον ὅπου εἶχεν ὁ ἅγιος
 πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, τοῦ ἐχάρισαν ἄλλας δύο μερίδας καὶ ἔκτισεν ἐκεῖ μίαν
 80 ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου Παταπίου, καὶ μοναστήριον ὠκοδόμησε μὲ
 κελλία κεραμόστεγα πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν τῶν καλογήρων. Ἐκαμε δὲ καὶ
 περιβόλιον καὶ ἀμπελῶνα μοδίων δώδεκα καὶ κληματαρὰ καὶ καλογήρους μὲ
 προεστών.

Εἶτα, θέλοντας ὁ ἅγιος νὰ κάμῃ τὴν μονὴν ταύτην τῶν Μυριοκεφάλων
 85 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μοναστήρια ὅπου ἔκτισεν ἀνεμπόδιστα καὶ ἀσύδοτα ἀπὸ κάθε
 ἐκκλησιαστικὸν καὶ ἀρχοντικὸν πρόσωπον, ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὴν
 Κωνσταντινούπολιν πρὸς τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν, βασιλεύοντος τότε

Ῥωμανὸς ὁ Ἀργυρόπουλος καὶ πατριαρχεύοντος ὁ κύριος Ἀλέξιος. Καὶ
 δεθεὶς αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τὸν βασιλέα χρυσόβουλλον νὰ λαμβάνη κατ' ἔτος
 90 ἀπὸ τὸ τελωνεῖον Κρήτης αὐτὴ ἡ μονὴ τῶν Μυριοκεφάλων διὰ ψυχικὴν τῶν
 σωτηρίαν νομίσματα λίτρα μία, ράσα δύο καὶ βλαντὶ κόκκινο ἓνα. Ἀπὸ δὲ
 τὸν πατριάρχην παίρνοντας γράμματα τὴν ἔκαμε σταυροπήγιον, νὰ εἶναι
 ἀνεμπόδιστη καὶ ἀπείρακτη ἀπὸ κάθε ἐκκλησιαστικὸν καὶ ἀρχοντικὸν
 πρόσωπον, καὶ μηδόλως νὰ ἔχη ἄδειαν ἢ ἐξουσίαν ὁ κατὰ καιρὸν
 95 μητροπολίτης ἢ ἐπίσκοπος νὰ ζητᾷ ἀπ' αὐτὴν φιλότιμον ἢ ἄλλο δικαίωμα, ἢ
 κανίσκιον, κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες, ἀλλὰ νὰ εἶναι αὐτοδέσποτος καὶ κυρία ἑαυτῆς
 καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ μοναστηρίων εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Μόνον δὲ τὴν ἀναφορὰν νὰ
 κάμνουσι τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν παναγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου, ὡς
 σταυροπήγιον πατριαρχικόν.

100 Ἐχάρισαν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ φιλόχριστοι ἀπὸ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν
 σκευὴ χρυσὰ καὶ ἀργυρά, ἱερὰ βιβλία, εἰκόνας καὶ ἕτερα χρειαζόμενα τῶν
 ἐκκλησιῶν. Καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὰ ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Κρήτην καὶ ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὴν
 ἄνωθεν μονὴν τῶν Μυριοκεφάλων καὶ ἐστόλισεν αὐτὴν ὠραιότατα.
 Ἀφιέρωσεν εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ πρόβατα, αἰγίδια, φοράδια καὶ ἕτερα βορδονικὰ διὰ
 105 τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν τῶν καλογήρων καὶ ἄλλα χρειαζόμενα. Καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐτά,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερα σκευὴ ἀργυρὰ καὶ χρυσά, καὶ χαλκωματένια πολλὰ ἔβαλεν
 εἰς αὐτὴν, τὰ ὅποια ἔδιδαν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἀπὸ τὴν πολλὴν εὐλάβειαν ὅπου
 εἶχασιν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον, καὶ ἔθεταν αὐτὰ εἰς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ χάριν
 προσκυνήσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς μονῆς, ἵνα λάβωσι καὶ εὐλογίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

110 Ὅμως θεωρῶντας ὁ ἅγιος ὅτι τὸν ἐνοχλοῦσι πολλὰ οἱ εὐσεβεῖς
 Χριστιανοὶ ἀπὸ τὴν πολλὴν εὐλάβειαν ὅπου τοῦ εἶχασιν καὶ ἀγάπην, καὶ δὲν
 τὸν ἀφήνουσι καθόλου νὰ ἔχη ἄνεσιν, ἐμίσσευσεν ἀπ' ἐκεῖ καὶ περιπατῶντας
 ἡμέρας πολλὰς ὑπῆγεν πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῶν Χανίων, εἰς ἓνα τόπον κραζόμενον
 Κουφόν, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔκτισεν ἐκκλησίαν ὠραιοτάτην εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Ὑπεραγίας
 115 Θεοτόκου, μὲ κελλία καὶ περιτείχισμα, ἐφύτευσε δὲ καὶ ἀμπέλι καὶ δένδρα
 πολύλογα, προσέκτησε καὶ τριγῦρο τῆς μονῆς ταύτης χωράφια μοδίων

σαράντα. Καὶ ἀφήνοντας ἐκεῖ καλογήρους ἀνεχώρησε καὶ ὑπῆγεν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῶν Σφακίων, εἰς τοὺς ὀπίσω αἰγιαλοὺς τῆς Κρήτης πρὸς Νότον. Ἐκεῖ δὲ εἰς ἓνα ἔρημον τόπον ἔκτισε μίαν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου. Καὶ

120 πάλιν ἀναχωρῶντας ἀπ' ἐκεῖ ἔφθασεν εἰς τὸ χωρίον Ἀζωγυρέα, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔκτισε μίαν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον τόπον ἔκαμε καὶ μελισσουργεῖον πλουσιώτατον.

Καὶ πάλιν θεωρῶντας ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖ οἱ εὐλαβεῖς Χριστιανοί, οἵτινες τόσον τρέχασι πρὸς αὐτὸν χάριν ἐξομολογήσεως καὶ εὐλαβίας, δὲν τὸν

125 ἄφηναν νὰ ἡσυχάζῃ καὶ κατὰ μόνας νὰ προσεύχεται πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καθὼς εἶχε πόθον, ἔφυγε καὶ ἀπ' ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐπῆγεν ἔξω εἰς τὴν ἄκρην τοῦ νησίου κατὰ τὴν Δύσιν, εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Κισάμου, εἰς τὴν Ἀκτὴν, καὶ ἐκεῖ εὐρίσκοντας τόπον ἡσυχον καὶ ἀρεσκούμενόν του, ἐκατοίκησεν ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἔκτισεν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ μοναστήριον ἐκατάστησεν.

130 Ὅμως βλέποντας ὁ ἅγιος ὅτι ἦλθεν ὁ καιρὸς νὰ μετασταθῇ, ἐκ τοῦ προσκαίρου κόσμου τούτου καὶ νὰ ὑπάγῃ πρὸς τὸν ποθούμενόν του Χριστόν, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς κάτωθεν στρατηγούς καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ ἔκαμε τὴν παρούσαν αὐτοῦ διαθήκην, ὁ ὁποῖος διατιθέμενος λέγει.

135 Διαθήκη

Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διορίζομαι τοῦτο καὶ ἐντέλλομαι, διατίθεμαι καὶ παραγγέλλω εἰς ὅλους : Ὅτι ὅλα τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ ἐκκλησίας ὁπού, χάριτι Θεοῦ, ἀνήγειρα καὶ ἔκτισα καὶ ὅσα ὑποστατικά, κινητὰ καὶ ἀκίνητα, ἀφιέρωσα εἰς αὐτά, θέλω νὰ εἶναι ὅλα ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν

140 τῆς Κυρίας Θεοτόκου τῶν Μυριοκεφάλων, ἕως τέλος τοῦ παρόντος κόσμου, χωρὶς καμμίας ἐναντιότητος. Εἰ δέ τις τῶν ἐπιγείων ἀνθρώπων, εἴτε βασιλεὺς, εἴτε πατριάρχης ἢ μητροπολίτης, ἢ ἄρχων ἢ ἀρχόμενος, ἢ μικρὸς ἢ μεγάλος τολμήσῃ νὰ ἐκβάλῃ ἀπὸ τὰ πράγματα ὁποῦ ἀφιέρωσα εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ μονύδρια τὰ ὁποῖα ἔκτισα, κινητὰ ἢ ἀκίνητα, ἀλλὰ νὰ εἶναι ὅλα αὐτὰ εἰς τὴν ἄνω

145 μονὴν τῶν Μυριοκεφάλων, ὡς ἐδιαταξάμην, πρῶτον μὲν νὰ εἶναι ἀφωρισμένος

ἀπὸ Θεοῦ Παντοκράτορος καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀκοινώνητος
 τῶν ἀχράντων μυστηρίων, καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἄλυτος. Ἡ μερὶς καὶ ὁ κλῆρος
 αὐτοῦ νὰ εἶναι μετὰ τοῦ προδότου Ἰούδα, καὶ νὰ ἔχῃ τὰ ἀναθέματα καὶ τὰς
 κατάρας τῶν τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ θεοφόρων Πατέρων τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ
 150 πρώτης Συνόδου, καὶ νὰ κληρονομήσῃ τὴν αἰώνιον κόλασιν. Ὅποιος δὲ πάλιν
 φυλάξῃ τὴν διαθήκην μου ταύτην ἀπαρασάλευτον καὶ ὅσα ἐπαράγγελια νὰ
 τηρήσῃ ἀμετάτρεπτα, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἡ Κυρία Θεοτόκος ἡ
 μεσίτρια παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου νὰ τοῦ συγχωρήσῃ ὅλα του τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, καὶ
 ἐν ὥρᾳ τῆς φοβερᾶς κρίσεως, συγχωρήσῃ αὐτοῦ τὰ πταίσματα ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι
 155 καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι, καὶ στήσῃ αὐτὸν τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ παραστάσεως, καὶ
 κληρονόμος γένηται τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας. Ἀμήν.

Μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ κ'. Ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου 6536, ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1031
 (sic).

- Χεῖρ Μόσχου διακόνου καὶ νομικοῦ γραφέως Κάστρου Χάνδακος
 160 ὑπέγραψεν.
- Φιλάρετος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Κρήτης ὁ Βραχέων, παρὼν
 εἰς ταύτην τὴν διαθήκην τοῦ μοναχοῦ Ἰωάννου, προτραπεῖς ὑπέγραψα.
- Εὐμάθιος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Κρήτης, παρὼν εἰς τὴν
 παροῦσαν διαθήκην τοῦ μοναχοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἐρημίτου, ὑπέγραψα.
- 165 – Παπᾶ Λέων Δαφερερᾶς, νοτάριος ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας
 ἐμετέγραψα τὴν παροῦσαν διαθήκην τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐν
 τῇ Κρήτῃ, τῆς ἐπωνυμίας Ξένου, μοναχοῦ.

Translation

The Life and Conduct of our holy and God-bearing father kyr Ioannes of Crete.

Father, give your blessing!

This sainted father of ours, Ioannes, was born in a village of the renowned (island of) Crete, which was called Siva, to pious and rich parents, at the time of our most pious and orthodox emperors, Vassilios and Constantine, born in purple, in the year 970 from the birth of Christ, (and) after the most glorious Nikephoros Phokas exterminated the Saracens from this same island. And he (i.e. Ioannes) from a young age loved the monastic life, and he renounced his parents and relatives, brothers and friends, and wealth and transitory glory and all the well being of the world, and he went to the mountains and the deserted part of this same island and stayed there for many years, being nourished together with the wild beasts, bearing the heat of the sun and the cold of the night as if he was made of stone, and walking from mountain to mountain he came to a mountain called Raxos, and there he stayed for many days. Then, he went even further in to another mountain where there was a forest and a great wilderness, and there having found a cave he entered in it, and as he entered it he saw inside the cave two tombs, one on the north side and the other on the south, and thinking what these could be, he hears a human voice which called him three times and speaks to him like this.

Ioannes, Ioannes. These two tombs that you saw are of Eutychios and Eutychianos and you are destined to build at that place a church in their name.

And the Saint having heard that the voice commands him to build a church, he stayed at that place and with a lot of desire he started to clean the cave and in a little time he built a church in it and leaving there behind a monk, he left.

And once again, the Saint walking from place to place and from mountain to mountain, he went up to the top of a mountain, called Myriocephalon, and there he found a pagan building, above the place called Tourma of Kalamon, which was very big and due to the harshness of winter he went in there, and as he entered it he became blind straightaway. But the Saint, becoming blind in such a way, did not blame God but with thanks and patience he was praying to Him day and night and on the seventh day when he was blind, a voice comes from above and tells him: Ioannes, Ioannes, come out (from in there) and look towards the East. And then it seemed to him that somebody was holding him by his hand and he came out and looking towards the East, he sees a great light and he hears again another voice which ordered him saying this: Ioannes, Ioannes. In this place you are destined to build a church in the name of the supremely holy Mother of God, the Antiphonetria. And with this voice, he immediately became unblind.

And thus, the Saint went to the Christians asking for help in order to build this church, and they being well-disposed were giving him more than he was asking for, and in this way he bought this place from the heirs themselves, and with a document he defined the place with borders and a surrounding area, working (i.e. and they [the heirs] too participated) themselves, on their own

initiative in favour of the building of the church. And in this way the Saint, with a lot of desire, built this same church in the name of the supremely holy Mother of God, the Antiphonetria, as the voice ordered him. To which monastery he later consecrated all his belongings, movable and immovable, as you are going to hear, all these that he acquired through the *oikonomia* of God and with the help of the Virgin. And thus, he put in this (monastery) six monks and one priest-monk called Loukas, for *proestos* (head monk).

Then, he went away from this monastery as well and went to another place called Melikas and going up on the so-called Chamovouni he built a church in the name of Saint Georgios the Domvrikas, in which place neither green grass nor dry grass was found but the place was dry and waterless. But with skill he made a cistern and collected water for his needs during winter time. And the heirs of that place, having been guided by God, they presented him another good place with fertile arable land and he made a garden and a vineyard and leaving there a priest-monk named Nikodemos, with six more brethren, he went away from there and walking from place to place after some days he reached a good and beautiful place called Arion, near the village of Pege, and asking the inhabitants of the village, they presented him a place in which he built a church in the name of Saint Georgios the Psaropiastes. And these same villagers having realised the good virtue and the godly achievements of the Saint, the fasting, the vigils, the prayers and the blessings, they gave him arable land of two *zeugaria* and some small trees which he consecrated to the said monastery.

And leaving there a priest-monk named Eutychios, he went back once again to the monastery of Myriocephala and he found the monks very deprived of food and the other necessities. And

going to the pious Christians begging (them) for charity, they generously gave alms to him as (they were) well-disposed and God-loving. And in this way he governed them and he also put together six *zeugaria*.

And from there once again he went to the village Mousela and there he bought from the heirs the place called Mesostavlites, (which was of) two plots of ground. And the people of that place realising the great desire the Saint had towards God, they presented him two more plots of ground and he built there a church in the name of Saint Patapios and he built a monastery with cells with roof-tiles for the accommodation of the monks. He also made a garden and a vineyard of twelve *modioi* and (planted) *klimatera* and (put) monks with a *proestos*.

Then, the Saint, wanting to make the monastery of Myriocephala and the rest of the monasteries which he built, free and uncontrolled by any ecclesiastical or civilian official, went to Constantinople to our orthodox emperors; Romanos Argyropoulos was ruling at the time and kyr Alexios was the Patriarch. And having requested them he got from the emperor a chrysobull <authorising> the monastery of Myriocephala to receive annually from the *teloneion* of Crete and for the salvation of their souls gold coins to the value of one pound, two gowns and one red purple cloth. And acquiring from the Patriarch *grammata* (i.e. *sigillion*), he made it a *stauropegion*, to be free and untouched from any ecclesiastical and civilian official and by no means the metropolitan or bishop of the time to have permission or authority to ask from it (i.e. the monastery) *filotimon* (i.e. a donation of respect) or another right or *kaniskion* as was customary, but to be self-governed and independent and the (same for the) rest of the monasteries in

eternity. They were to make only the liturgical reference to the most holy and ecumenical Patriarch as a patriarchal *stauropegion*.

And the *philochristoi* from Constantinople presented him gold and silver vessels, holy books, icons and other (things) that churches need. And receiving these he came back to Crete and went back to the above mentioned monastery of Myriocephala and decorated it in a nice way. And to this (monastery) he consecrated sheep, goats, horses and some mules for the service of the monks and (for) other necessities. And not only these, but he also assigned to this (monastery) other vessels, silver and golden and many bronze ones, which the Christians were giving because of the great piety they had towards the Saint; and they were putting these at his feet because they were venerating him and the monastery in order to get his blessing.

But the Saint considering that the pious Christians were disturbing him a lot because of the great piety and love they had for him, and they were not letting him have any rest at all, he left from there and by walking for many days he went towards the place of Chania, at a place called Koufos, and there he built a most beautiful church in the name of the supremely holy Mother of God with cells and walling, and he also planted a vineyard and various trees, and he also acquired around this monastery arable land of forty *modioi*. And leaving there monks he left and went to the places of Sfakia at the rear sea shores of Crete, to the south. And there, at a desert place he built a church in the name of Saint Pavlos. And once again leaving that place he reached the village called Azogyreas and there he built a church in the name of Saint Georgios, in which place he also made a very rich apiary.

And again considering that there too the pious Christians, who were running so much towards him for confession and piety, did not leave him to contemplate and to pray to God by himself, as he was wanting to, he left that place too and went far away to the edge of the island towards the west at the districts of Kissamos at Akti and having found a quiet place there and to his liking, he stayed there and built a church and established a monastery.

But when the Saint realised that his time has come to go to God from this transitory world and to go to his much desired Christ, he called the following *strategoi* and archons and made his present testament, disposing himself in this way:

Testament

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ this I pronounce clearly and command, dispose and recommend to all: that all the monasteries and churches which I by the grace of God raised and built, and also the properties, movable and immovable, I consecrated to them, I wish all of them to be under the authority of the lady Mother of God of Myriokephala until the end of the present world with no resistance. If any of the men on earth, either emperor or patriarch or metropolitan, either ruling or ruled, great or small, dares to detach (any of) the things I consecrated to these monasteries which I founded, movable or immovable, but all of these are to belong to the aforesaid monastery of Myriokephala as I have ordained. At first, may such a person be accursed by God the Almighty and our Lord Jesus Christ, and have neither share in the immaculate mysteries nor resolution into dust after death. Then may his share and lot to be with Judas the betrayer, and may he

have the anathema and the curses of the three hundred and eighteen God-bearing Fathers of the first council of Nicaea; and may he inherit the eternal punishment. On the contrary, whoever shall keep my testament unshaken and keep all I have recommended unaltered, may the holy and heavenly God together with the lady Mother of God, intercessor of the whole world, forgive all his sins; and at the time of the fearful judgement may He forgive his faults in this age and the future age, and may He place him on his right-hand side and may he become heir of His reign. Amen.

(On the) twentieth (day), in the month of September, from the creation of the world 6536, from (the birth of) Christ, 1031.

- The hand of Moschos, deacon and notary of the fortress of Chandax, signed.

- I, Philaretos Bracheon, *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Crete, being present to this testament of the monk Ioannes, signed upon summons.

- I, Eumathios, *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Crete, being present to this present testament of the monk Ioannes the hermit, signed.

- I, the priest Leon Dafereras, notary under the imperial authority, have transcribed the present testament of our holy father Ioannes of Crete, known as *Xenos*, the monk.

Commentary

Despite the popular Greek in which the account of Xenos' life and final will is recorded and the use of the 3rd person singular for the first part, there are some obvious similarities between *Cisamensis'* version and the version preserved in *Canonicus graecus* 19. The same words and phrases are used, the word order in certain phrases is identical and the general layout of the material in *Cisamensis'* version is the same as the earlier version of the *Life* that is preserved in *Canonicus*.

A presentation of the most important additional and different elements contained in *Cisamensis'* version will follow in the form of a commentary and then a discussion.

•2¹. Κὺρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ: the popular name of Ioannes Xenos is used in the title. No reference to epithets *xenos* and *eremites* is mentioned with which Ioannes is known in the earlier version of his *Life* and also in frescoes of the 14th and 15th centuries (for *xenos* and *eremites*, see Introduction, pp. 19-20); cf. Chapter 3. 2, p. 95; cf. also below where *xenos* and *eremites* appear in the signatures at the end of the text (ll. 161-167).

•6-8. εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων βασιλέων ἡμῶν Βασιλείου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν πορφυρογεννήτων, ἔτει ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως λθ' (970): Xenos' date of birth is given here; born in 970 when Vassilios II and Constantine VIII, the sons of Romanos II (959-963), were co-emperors: Vassilios II was crowned in 960 while his brother Constantine VIII was crowned co-emperor probably in 962. The absence of the name of John I Tzimiskes who was emperor at the time (969-976) is worth mentioning. Xenos' date of birth is given only in this later version while no such reference is made in the earlier *Canonicus'* version.

•9-10. ἀφοῦ ἐξωλόθρευσεν ὁ ἐνδοξότατος Νικηφόρος ὁ Φωκάς τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς ἀπ' αὐτὸ τὸ νησίον: reference to the reconquest of the island of Crete by Nikephoros Phokas (961); such a reference does not exist in *Canonicus'* version.

•30. κτίσμα ἑλληνικόν: the reference to the ἑλληνικόν, i.e. pagan, building at such a later version (18th-19th version) when the term

¹ The numbers denote the line numbers of the text.

"ἑλληνικόν" did not anymore denote the "pagan" (it had begun to denote the ethnic identity of the people living in the area of today's Greece) indicates that this version was actually copied from a version which was close to the one preserved in *Canonicus* and no emendations were made.

•51-52. Καὶ ἔτζι ἔβαλεν εἰς αὐτὴν καλογήρους ἕξ καὶ ἓνα ἱερομόναχον Λουκᾶν διὰ προεστῶτα: *Canonicus*' version refers only to one monk called Loukas; the reference of six monks together with Loukas as the *proestos* (head monk) might be an element derived from oral tradition.

•54. Χαμοβούνι : the "low mountain". Although the word χαμοβούνι appears as a common noun within the adverbial phrase ἐπόνω τοῦ χαμοβουνίου in *Canonicus*' version (l. 56), in *Cisamensis*' version stands as a proper name connected with the participle τὸ λεγόμενον ("the so-called Chamovouni"). It is quite common for geographical terms to become proper names. However, it is not possible to know with certainty if this is an actual proper name or it is just a certain mistake that occurred during the serial copying of this manuscript (see Introduction).

•60-61. ἓνα ἱερομόναχον ὀνόματι Νικόδημον, μὲ ἄλλους ἕξι ἀδελφούς: only monk Nikodemos is mentioned in *Canonicus*' version; the reference to an additional number of six monks might be once again an element provided from oral tradition.

•82. κληματερά : the word is used for vines that are trained up wires.

•82-83. καλογήρους μὲ προεστῶν: according to *Cisamensis*' version Xenos organised the monastic foundation of Saint Patapios and after leaving monks with a *proestos* behind, he went to Constantinople. In *Canonicus*' version, after building and organising the monastic foundation of Saint Patapios, Xenos went back to the main monastic unit of Myriokephala where he organised the agricultural activities of the monastery. Leaving twelve monks behind, he left for his journey to Constantinople. This piece of information about his short stay in Myriokephala is missing from *Cisamensis*' version.

•87-88. βασιλεύοντος τότε Ῥωμανὸς ὁ Ἀργυρόπουλος καὶ πατριαρχεύοντος ὁ κύριος Ἀλέξιος: *Canonicus*' version refers only to the Patriarch Alexios (1025-1043). The presence of Romanos Argyropoulos (1028-1034) in this version confines the period of Xenos' trip to

Constantinople to 1028-1034, the years which coincide with the patriarchate of Alexios. The addition of the emperor's name together with the contradictory dates given at the end of the text might indicate that something has been assumed and does not rely on secure evidence. It seems very possible for this to be the name of Argyropoulos which is not mentioned in *Canonicus*, the version closer to Xenos' initial composition; see below for the date and the discussion of all additional elements.

•90. τὸ τελωνεῖον Κρήτης : the financial administration of the island of Crete which collected the taxes was authorised to pay the monastery of Myriokephala the one pound of gold before the rest of the sum was sent to Constantinople.

•91. ῥάσα δύο καὶ βλαντὶ κόκκινο ἓνα: the monastery in Myriokephala will acquire annually two gowns and one red purple cloth (i.e. the altar cloth). *Canonicus*' version refer to twelve gowns, twelve mantles and a purple cloth to be used as an altar cloth.

•97-99. Μόνον δὲ τὴν ἀναφορὰν νὰ κάμνουσι τοῦ κατὰ καιρὸν παναγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου, ὡς σταυροπήγιον πατριαρχικόν : the monastery undertakes to make a liturgical reference, i.e. commemoration, to the Patriarch. This liturgical commemoration of the Patriarch is a result of the monastery becoming a *stauropegion* (a monastic unit dependent on the Patriarch and not on local metropolitans or bishops). In *Canonicus*' version the term σταυροπήγιον πατριαρχικόν does not exist; the liturgical reference is made as an acknowledgement to the Patriarch for providing the monastery with all its privileges.

•104. πρόβατα, αἰγίδια, φοράδια καὶ ἕτερα βορδονικά: the reference to all animals forming part of the monastic property is also found in *Canonicus*' version; *Cisamensis* version does not refer to she-asses though. Exact numbers of these animals are given in *Canonicus*' version but not in *Cisamensis* which is indicative of its later composition. Exact numbers would not have been of great importance anymore as the status and the properties of the monastic foundations would have changed.

•106. ἕτερα σκεύη ἀργυρὰ καὶ χρυσά, καὶ χαλκωματένια πολλά: a general reference to the vessels acquired by Xenos for his foundations is made in *Cisamensis* while a detailed one appears in *Canonicus*,

another element indicative of the later period of this version's composition.

•127-129. εἰς τὴν Ἀκτὴν, καὶ ἐκεῖ εὐρίσκοντας τόπον ἡσυχον καὶ ἀρεσκούμενόν του, ἐκατοίκησεν ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἔκτισεν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ μοναστήριον ἐκατάστησεν: the building of a church and the organisation of a monastery in Akti is recorded only in *Cisamensis'* version. According to *Canonicus'* version Xenos went to Akti to find *eremia* and *hesychia* and to avoid being disturbed by people; but no reference to a foundation of a monastic establishment is mentioned in the earlier version of the *Life*. Moreover, no archaeological evidence testify the building of a monastic foundation there in the 11th century. Xenos' practice of recording all his deeds allows us to say that if he had built such a church in Akti, he would have recorded it in his text and this would have survived in *Canonicus'* version as well. The existence of a later building there should be connected with the popularity of Ioannes Xenos and his connection with this area as this was recorded in his *Life* (see Commentary, entry on *Akti*). After his stay in Akti Xenos went back to Myriokephala where his life and final will was recorded and where he probably died (see Chapter 3.2). However, according to oral tradition, Akti is the place where Xenos died. This monastic foundation in Akti as recorded in *Cisamensis'* version might imply the introduction of oral tradition elements in Xenos' life's account after time has passed.

•132-134. ἐκάλεσε τοὺς κάτωθεν στρατηγούς καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ ἔκαμε τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτοῦ διαθήκην, ὁ ὅποιος διατιθέμενος λέγει: this phrase introduces the part of the text entitled as *Testament* and recorded in the 1st person singular.

•135-156: the text contained in these lines coincides in general terms with the text contained in lines 130-143 of *Canonicus'* version. An additional reference to the first Ecumenical Council of Nicaea is made which is connected with the reference to the 318 Fathers (see relevant entry in the Commentary). It is noteworthy that the correct number 318 appears in this version in contrast with *Canonicus'* version where 418 is recorded.

•157. Μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ κ'. Ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου 6536, ἀπὸ δὲ Χριστοῦ 1031: the date of the composition of the *Testament* as this appears here is incorrect. The year 6536 corresponds to A.D. 1027 and not to A.D.

1031; Tomadakis noted this in his edition by adding (*sic*) (l. 158). Moreover, the dates of Romanos Argyropoulos' reign do not correspond to 1027. Thus, the year 6536 might need emendation; see Chapter 3. 2.

Ioannes Xenos' feastday on September 20th was established in the 19th century according to the date found in *Cisamensis*, probably denoting Xenos' date of death, according to Ilar. Katsoulis, *Ἀκολουθίαι Κρητῶν Ἀγίων*, Athens 1878 (not accessible to me).

•159-167: Tomadakis was the first to try and identify the four names and signatures which appear on the popular version of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos*, cf. Tomadakis, "Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ ἡ Διαθήκη αὐτοῦ", 67-72; idem, "Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Ξένος καὶ Ἐρημίτης ἐν Κρήτῃ. 10ος-11ος αἰών. Ἀγιολογικά καὶ Ὑμνολογικά", 14-22. The names are as follows:

•159-160. **Χεῖρ Μόσχου διακόνου καὶ νομικοῦ γραφέως Κάστρου Χάνδακος ὑπέγραψεν:**

The term "νομικὸς γραφεύς" denotes the official public notary. The notary of the city of Chandax was a very important official; all important documents and deeds were taken to him to be confirmed and also to be signed by administrative or ecclesiastical officials; cf. N. Oikonomides, "Οἱ αὐθένται τῶν Κρητικῶν τὸ 1118", *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Δ' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Ἡράκλειο 1976), vol. 2, Athens 1981, 308-317, esp. 308. No other sources testify the presence of deacon Moschos as notary of the city of Chandax.

•161-162. **Φιλάρετος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Κρήτης ὁ Βραχέων, παρὼν εἰς ταύτην τὴν διαθήκην τοῦ μοναχοῦ Ἰωάννου, προτραπεῖς ὑπέγραψα:**

Strategos is the title of the governor of a *thema* and in this case of the *thema* of the island of Crete; while different theories have been proposed about Crete being a *thema* before 961, it is certain that the island was elevated to a *thema* after its reconquest by the Byzantines in 961 (on Crete as a *thema*, see Chapter 1, pp. 32-35). *Protospatharios* is a dignity of the imperial hierarchy. This title is attested as a dignity since 718 and until the beginning of the 12th century; cf. Oikonomides, *Les Listes de Préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles*, Paris 1972, 297, with additional bibliography. Thus, the presence of Philaretos invested with these two dignities is appropriate for the governor of a *thema*.

The name Bracheon (Βραχέων) does not appear in any other known sources. The person whose name seems to be closest to Philaretos Bracheon is Philaretos Brachamios (11th century) who was of Armenian origin and acquired many dignities and titles, among which was the title of *strategos*. But Brachamios did not get involved with Crete as far as sources attest. For Brachamios and his questionable identification as a Byzantine general, see A. Kazhdan, "Brachamios", *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 1, New York-Oxford 1991, 319; cf. V. Laurent, "Le statut de la Crète byzantine avant et après sa libération du joug arabe (961)", *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 15-16 (1961-1962), 382-396, esp. 391-392, 394; Laurent was the first who made the connection of Bracheon and Brachamios.

•163-164. Εὐμάθιος πρωτοσπαθάριος καὶ στρατηγὸς Κρήτης, παρὼν εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν διαθήκην τοῦ μοναχοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἐρημίτου, ὑπέγραψα:

On *protospatharios* and *strategos*, see above.

The presence of an inscription on a column in the area of Arastas, Heraklion, for a *protospatharios* and *strategos* Eumathios testifies to the presence of a person with this name and dignities on the island of Crete. It should be the same person as Eumathios *protospatharios* and *strategos* who appears to have signed Xenos' *testament*. This inscription has been dated to the end of the 11th century (1090-1110); cf. Spyr. N. Marinatos, "Εὐμάθιος ὁ Φιλοκάλης, τελευταῖος στρατηγὸς τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ θέματος τῆς Κρήτης", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 7 (1930), 388-393 (see p. 390 for a photograph of this inscription). Marinatos who was not aware of Xenos' text, erroneously identified *protospatharios* and *strategos* Eumathios of the inscription with Eumathios Philokales, one of the best generals of Alexios Komnenos (1081-1118). Laurent being aware of Delehayes' *editio princeps* of the *Life of Ioannes Xenos* and of Leledakis' edition of the second popular version which carries the same signatures as *Cisamensis*' version (on this second popular version, see Introduction, pp. 20-21 and note 21) identified the *protospatharios* and *strategos* Eumathios of the inscription with the Eumathios of Xenos' *testament*, proving Marinatos was wrong; cf. V. Laurent, "Bulletin de Sigillographie Byzantine", *Byzantion* 5 (1930), 571-654, esp. 635-636; idem, "Bulletin de Sigillographie Byzantine", *Byzantion* 6 (1931), 771-829, esp. 801-802. cf. also Dion. A. Zakythenos, "Μελέται περὶ τῆς διοικητικῆς διαιρέσεως καὶ τῆς ἐπαρχιακῆς

διοικήσεως ἐν τῷ Βυζαντινῷ κράτει", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 17 (1941), 208-274, esp. 263-267 who agreed with Laurent. On Eumathios Philokales, see Oikonomides, "Οἱ αὐθένται τῶν Κρητικῶν τὸ 1118", *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Δ' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (*Ἡράκλειο* 1976), vol. 2, Athens 1981, 308-317, esp. 311-314.

The presence of the signatures of two (2) *strategoi* puzzled Laurent (*op. cit.*) who suggested that the *testament* might have been signed at a time when one *strategos* was about to replace the other and thus both of them were present and signed the document.

•165-167. Παπαῖ Λέων Δαφερεράς, νοτάριος ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐμετέγραψα τὴν παρούσαν διαθήκην τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ, τῆς ἐπωνυμίας Ξένου, μοναχοῦ:

The name Λέων Δαφερεράς is Venetian and its correct form should be Da Ferrara. During the Venetian occupation of Crete the family of Da Ferrara was one of the noble families of Crete particularly in the district of Rethymnon and derived from a noble family of Italy; cf. E. Moatsos, "Αἱ ἀρχοντικαὶ οἰκογένειαι τοῦ Ρεθύμνου ἐπὶ Βενετοκρατίας", *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Γ' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (*Ρέθυμνον* 1971), vol. 2, Athens 1974, 207-221, esp. 215. Leon Dafereras appears to be a priest and a notary of the Venetian authorities of Crete who copied and signed the *testament* and in this way he confirmed its authenticity.

It is worth noting that while on the title of this version Ioannes Xenos is called by his popular name, kyr Ioannes, in the signatures of the two *strategoi* and the latin priest Ioannes Xenos is called by the epithets *xenos* and *eremites*. This might imply that the signatures, wherever they derived from (see below), were kept intact and thus the usual epithets used for Ioannes Xenos remained there.

A parallel reading of the two versions of Ioannes Xenos' account of his life and final will shows that words and phrases as well as the word order appear to be the same in many places throughout the texts. This indicates that *Cisamensis'* version derived from a text that was close to the version of *Canonicus*.

Additional elements and alterations might be explained either due to the influence of oral tradition which has penetrated the text, or because of changed circumstances. Thus, differentiations appear in the numbers of monks of the different foundations and also general descriptions of animals or sacred vessels of the monastic property appear in *Cisamensis*' version, since these were not such important elements by the time this text was produced. The reference to the building of the monastery in Akti seems to have been introduced into the version from oral tradition. The area of Akti was connected with Xenos since it is mentioned in his *Life*, and according to oral tradition it is considered to be the place of his death.

The addition of the names of emperors in the attempt to provide evidence of Xenos' date of birth, the reference to the reconquest of Crete by Phokas and the additional reference to the emperor Romanos Argyropoulos whom Xenos visited in Constantinople, seem to be later efforts to enrich the text and make it look more complete.

Thus, the person who produced the text preserved in *Cisamensis* could have used a text that was very close to *Canonicus*' version. The conversion of the text to the 3rd person singular and its recording in popular Greek is the result (see Chapter 3. 2).

The most interesting additions though, even if they raise some questions, are the date and the four persons that have witnessed the *testament* of Ioannes Xenos.

The date might have been based on internal references of the text and on oral tradition (see Chapter 3. 2). The possibility that this date was based on information deriving from another older manuscript that no longer exists cannot be rejected. The names that appear in the form of signatures and also the order in which they are presented might have derived from a manuscript which was used by the person who wrote the popular version. It is worth considering how these names were added at the end of Xenos' *Testament*. The order in which they appear will help.

As has been previously discussed Xenos dictated his life and will that was written down by a disciple (see Chapter 3. 2). Sometime later and most probably after Xenos' death the immediate successors of his monastic foundations (i.e. their monks and priests) might have taken a copy of that document which

would act as a *testament*, to the city of Chandax where it would be confirmed by the official notary and members of the official administrative or ecclesiastical hierarchy of the island according to regular procedures (cf. the entry on Moschos). Thus, the notary of Chandax and the *strategoi* of the time signed the *testament*.

At this point, the presence of two *strategoi* seems a bit problematic as Laurent has previously mentioned (cf. the entries on the two *strategoi*). Moreover, if the dating of the inscription bearing the name of *strategos* and *protospatharios* Eumathios is correct (1090-1110), it seems that the *testament* was signed some decades later than Xenos' death. This strengthens the argument that the successors of Xenos took the *testament* to have it confirmed after Xenos' death. If that was the case and the *testament* was confirmed at a later stage, the insertion of the problematic date which produces contradictions can be explained by the lapse of time.

The presence of two *strategoi* is puzzling. The hesitant proposal by Laurent for the simultaneous presence of two *strategoi* at a period of a replacement of officials at the time when the *testament* was signed, seems impossible. But if the first was *strategos* when Xenos died and Eumathios was *strategos* when the text was confirmed by the notary, that would explain the two names. The name Bracheon for *strategos* Philaretos is also puzzling. As the name Bracheon is not recorded in other sources two possibilities might exist: 1. the existence of a *strategos* Philaretos Bracheon is attested only in the *testament* of Xenos; and 2. Philaretos Bracheon has been confused with Philaretos Brachamios, who is dated to the 11th century but was never involved in affairs having to do with Crete. Two possibilities follow this confusion: a. there was a signature of a certain *strategos* Philaretos and that the addition of the name Bracheon is a later one by somebody who copied the text and decided to add this surname known to him from a different source to make the text look more complete; and b. the full name of the *strategos* Philaretos Bracheon (instead of the correct Brachamios) was added at a later stage for the same reason, to enrich the text and to give it more historical value. At this point the possibility of a palaeographical mistake cannot be rejected; the different stages of copying this text went through can explain such problems.

At a later stage during the Venetian occupation of the island of Crete the priest of the Latin Church Leon Dafereras copied the *testament* and added his name at its end. Dafereras, whose name is connected with the area of Rethymnon where most of Xenos' establishments are located, might have copied the *testament* of Xenos for various reasons, such as taxation reasons, personal interest or simply because the churches and monasteries founded by Xenos belonged to his area and were under his jurisdiction.

To sum up. The text preserved in *Cisamensis* is based on a text close to *Canonicus'* version as similar words and phrases and their order testify. The additional elements that are found in this later version, derive from subsequent knowledge (e.g. references to emperors, Xenos' date of birth) and alterations due to new circumstances (e.g. differentiations in numbers of monks and animals of the monastic property), oral tradition (reference to the monastic foundation in Akti) and quite possibly from information supplied from an earlier manuscript that might have contained the signatures and the date. However, the nature and quality of these additions cannot help in the definition of historical truth and arbitrary intervention. It is not possible to know if some of these additional elements are based on historical facts or imagination; they might be both.

Table 1

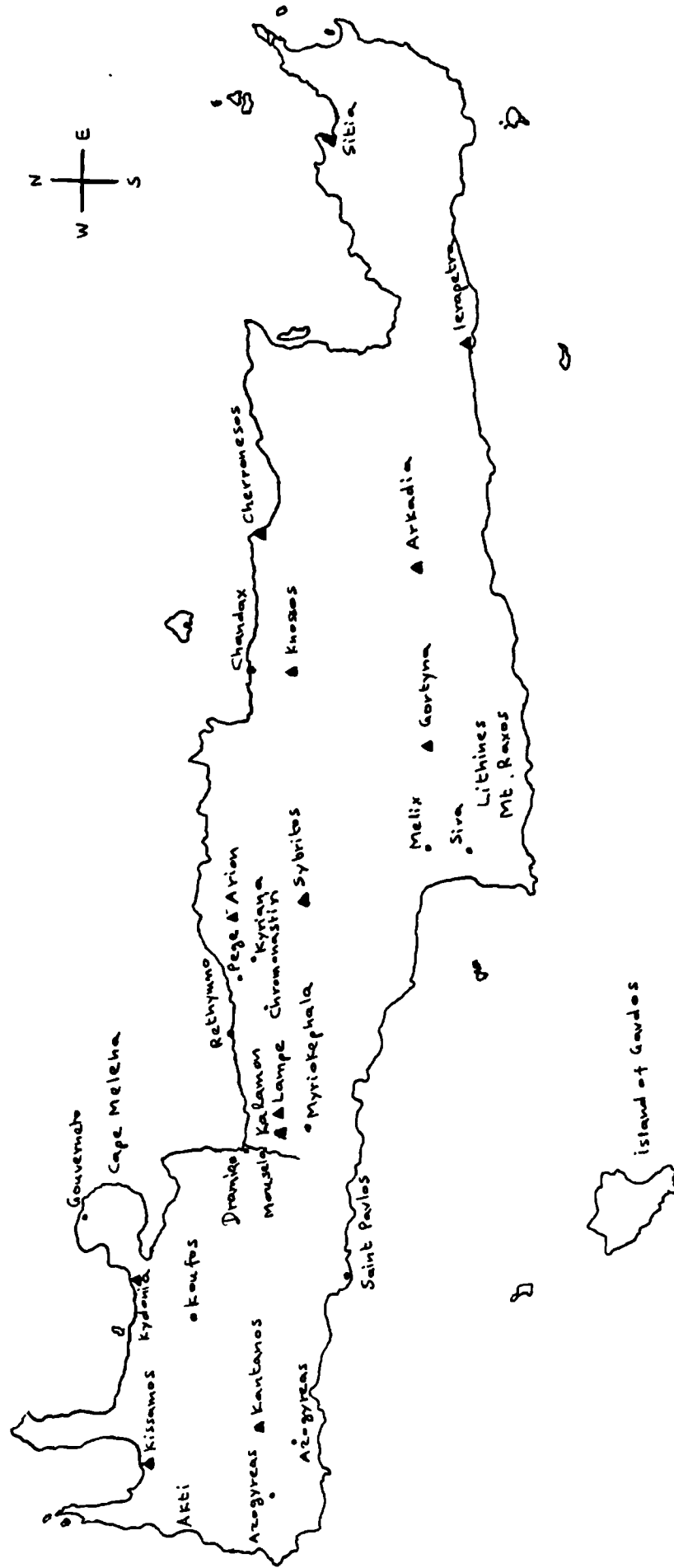
Table 2

THE MONASTIC FOUNDATIONS OF IOANNES XENOS

1. **Saints Eutychios and Eutychianos** (at the mountain Raxos, Lithines; one monk)
2. **Theotokos Antiphonetria** (at Myriokephala; main monastic foundation; monk Loukas, and later 12 monks; land of 6 *zeugaria*, 150 beehives at the place of Kyrianon, trees and plants, vineyard)
3. **Saint Georgios the Douvrikas** (at Melix; metochion; Nikodemos monk-priest; cistern, vineyard, garden, arable land of 4 *zeugaria*)
4. **Saint Georgios the Opsaropiastes** (at Arion, near the village Pege; metochion; monk Eutychios as priest; arable land of 2 *zeugaria*, trees)
5. **Saint Patapios** (at Mousela; metochion; indefinite number of monks; rich garden, trees, vineyard of 12 *modioi*, buildings with roof-tiles)
6. **Mother of God** (at Koufos; monk Kyrillos; vineyard, land of 40 *modioi*)
7. **Saint Pavlos** (on the south coast of western Crete)
8. **Saint Georgios** (at Azogyreas; with apiary)
9. church and monastic foundation* (at Akti, Kissamos)

*according to the *Cisamensis*' version only

A map of Crete



▲ Bishoprics according to Notitia 10 and 13.

Scale = 1:1000000

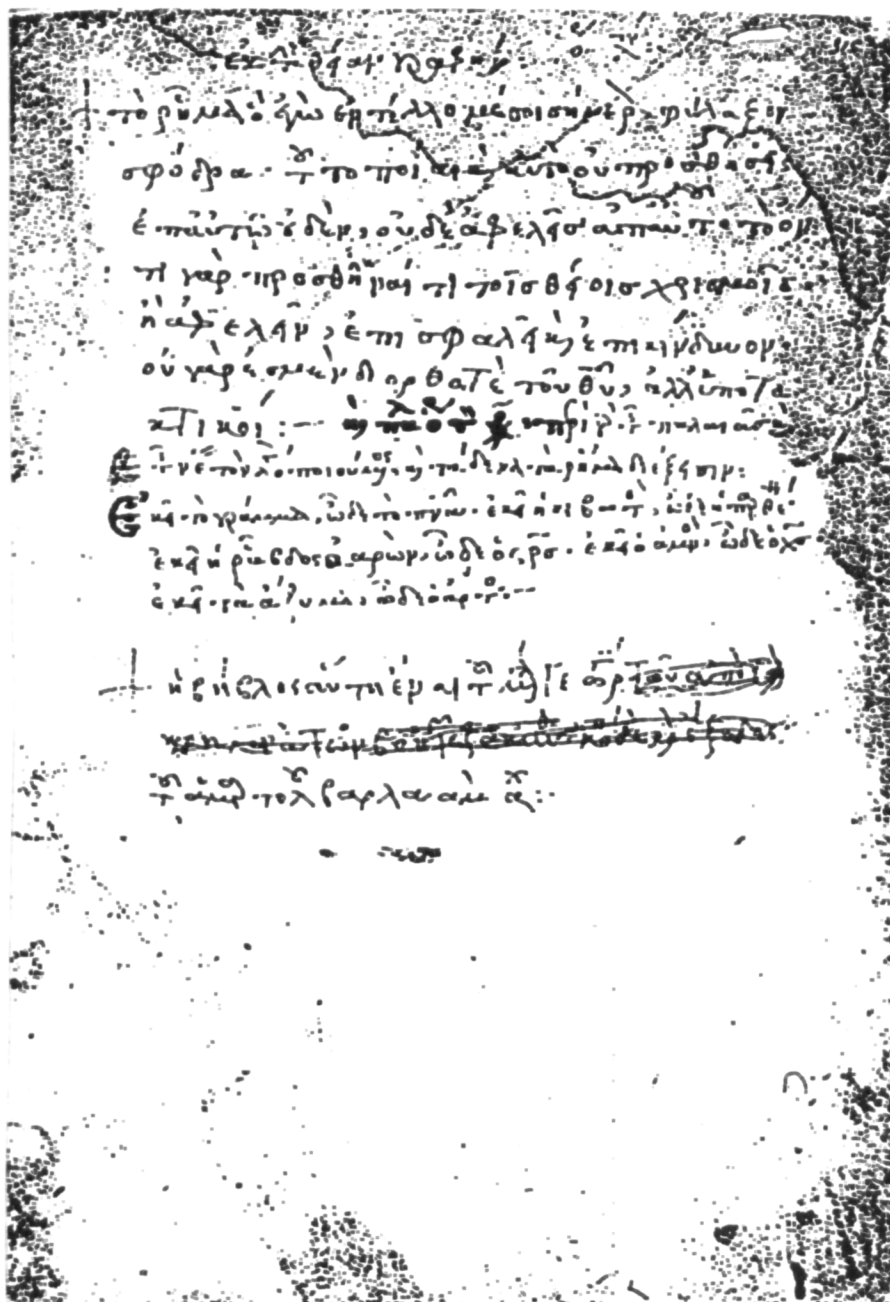
Illustrations



1. Ioannes Eremites with scenes from his life; portable icon of the first decades of the 17th century (Manolis Chatzidakis, *Εικόνες της Πάτμου. Ζητήματα βυζαντινής και μεταβυζαντινής ζωγραφικής*, Athens 1977, plate no. 176)



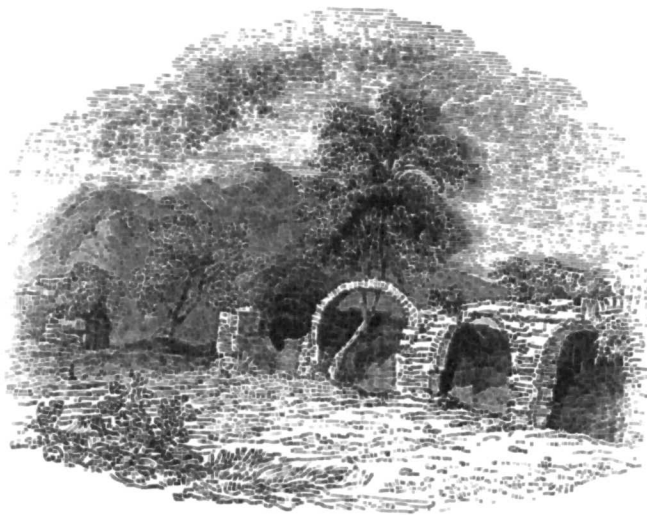
2. Ioannes Xenos; church of Saint Michael at Kavalariana, Crete (1327-1328)



Ἰός καὶ παλὶ τῆς τοῦ οὐνοῦ πρὸς
 ἡμῶν ἰωάννου τοῦ ὁρημίτου
 τῆς πορομίαις γνον· ἰωάννου
 μορῶς· ὅτῃς ὑπογομίαις ἐνος
 καὶ ἐρημίτις προσήκουσα·
 Ἐργασίαν δὲ αὐτῶν· ἰδὲ
 ἡγῆσθαι τοὺς ἀνδράσις ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων·
 ἐρωφθαροὺς· τὸ πρῶτον ἰδὲ ἡμῶν
 οὐ γνησιότατον· ὁρῶντες τοὺς οὐνοὺς
 τοῦ ζωοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οὐρανὴν·
 πᾶσι τοῖς καὶ ἐν μόνῳ κατὰ τὴν κακογνω-
 μονίαν· ἡ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν πᾶν
 μὴ φύλαξαι· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν κακογνω-
 καί τοι πορῶν ἀδελφῶν· οὐκ εἶναι
 ἡμῶς· ἡ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν πᾶν· ἡ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν πᾶν·
 ὅτῃς κατὰ τὸν πᾶν· μορῶς καὶ
 μετὰ τὴν οὐρανὴν· ὁρῶντες κατὰ τὴν
 θῆς· καὶ τὸ τέλεον τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πᾶν· πρὸς
 δοκῶν· ἰδὲ τὸ κατὰ τὴν πᾶν τὰ φθῶν·
 ρῶς ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν πᾶν· καὶ τὴν
 ἐπὶ τὸν πᾶν· ὅτῃς δι' οἱ κατὰ τὴν πᾶν
 οὐκ εἶναι· ἡ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν πᾶν·
 γωνίῳ γὰρ ἐν τῷ· πρὸς τὴν πᾶν
 τῶν οὐρανῶν κατὰ τὸν πᾶν· καὶ τὴν
 θῆς οὐρανῶν· ὅτῃς τὸν πᾶν τῶν κατὰ τὸν πᾶν



6. Ruins of the church of Saints Eutychios and Eutychianos
(view from the west, taken in April 1996)



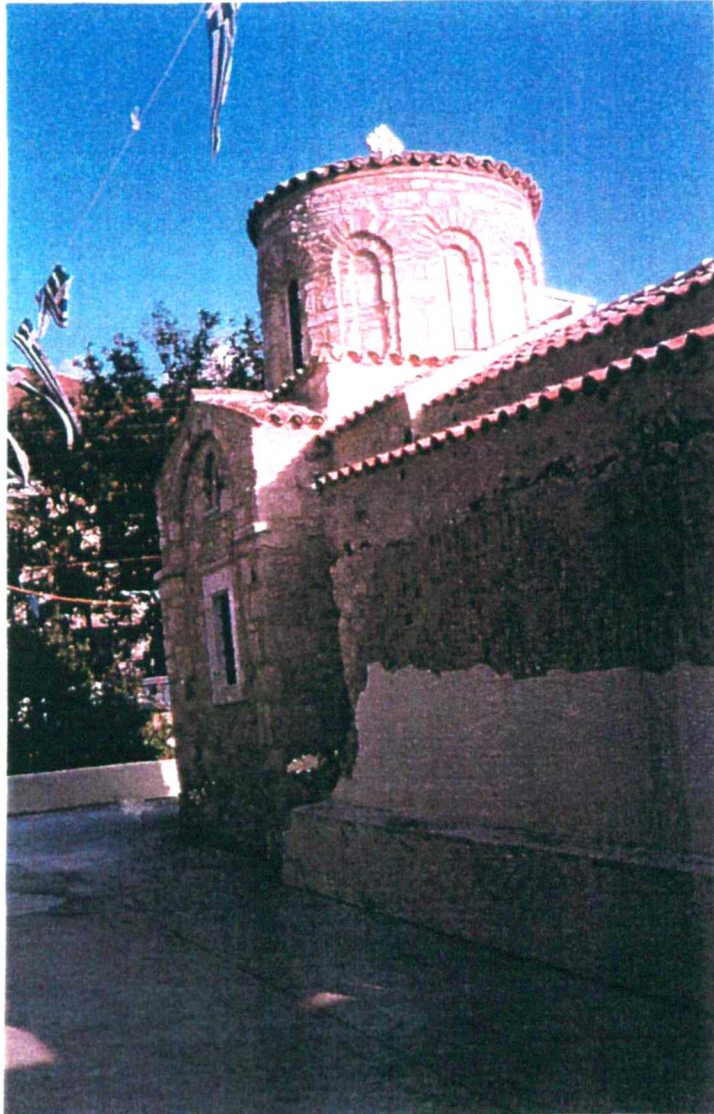
7. Ruins of the Roman *thermai* at the area of Myriocephala as
engraved for Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, in 1837



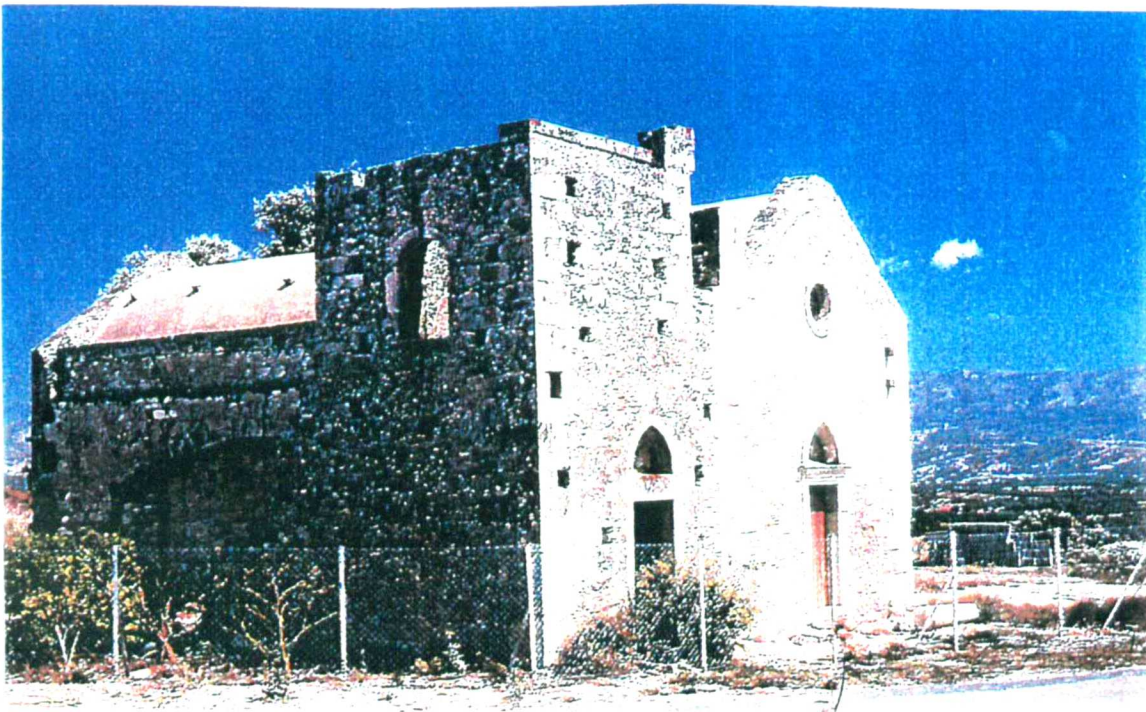
8. The church of the Mother of God, the Antiphonetria in Myriocephala (view from the south, taken in April 1996)



9. The church of the Mother of God, the Antiphonetria in Myriokephala (view from the south, taken on September 7th, 1998)



10. The church of the Mother of God, the Antiphonetria in Myriocephala (view from the north, taken on September 7th, 1998)



11. The church of Saint Georgios of Flandra



12. The church of the Mother of God in Koufos (view from the south, taken in October 1996)



13. The church of the Mother of God in Koufos (view from the north, taken in October 1996)



14. The church of Saint Pavlos on the south seashore of western Crete (view from the east taken in September 1996)



15. The church of Saint Pavlos on the south seashore of western Crete (view from the north-west taken in September 1996)

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